New Republic

October 21, 1946 • Fifteen Cents

HENRY A. WALLACE to edit New Republic

I AM LOOKING forward with the greatest eagerness to taking on, as of December 16, the privilege of editing the NEW REPUBLIC. I shall have the opportunity of saying exactly what I think at a time when a bi-partisan bloc mouthing the phrase "One World" is really driving the world into two armed camps. As editor of the NEW REPUBLIC I shall do everything I can to rouse the American people, the British people, the French people, the Russian people and in fact the liberally-minded people of the whole world, to the need of stopping this dangerous armament race. Peace can never be imposed for long by unilateral force. Peace will come if all nations are willing to practice mutual understanding and good will.

(Continued inside)

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I would not accept this platform if I did not have the assurance that every effort will be made to get the *New Republic* read by workers, small businessmen and farmers all over the United States. I want the *New Republic* to be a window on the future. I want it to be "must" reading by liberals all over the world. I want it to be so simple that high school students can understand it and so sound that doctors of philosophy respect it. I want it to lead to action, to effective political action in terms of progressive Congressmen elected who will serve the interests of all the people regardless of special pressure groups. Education and sound analysis—yes. But always in terms of action.

Henry A. Wallace

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 115, NO. 16 NEW YORK, MONDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1946 NUMBER 1664

(Continued from cover)

As Secretary of Agriculture and as Vice President I learned that the farmer's welfare depended on more than good seed, rich soil, modern methods and efficient marketing. As Secretary of Commerce I learned that the income of the farmer was very closely related to full employment and the prospects of business. I also learned that business in the United States was closely related to business in England and in Latin America. Finally, and underlying everything else, was the problem of peace. The depression of the thirties was fundamentally based on the fear of war.

For thirteen years I have had the privilege of sitting in on cabinet meetings in times of great national crisis, both domestic and foreign. As Vice President I visited many different countries. All of this experience convinces me that the best thing I can do for the cause of peace and prosperity is to accept the platform offered me by the *New Republic*. I would not accept this platform if I did not have the assurance that every effort will be made to get the *New Republic* read by workers, small businessmen and farmers all over the United States. I want the *New Republic* to be a window on the future. I want the *New Republic* to be looked on as "must" reading by liberals all over the world. I want it to be so simple that high-school students can understand it and so sound that doctors of philosophy respect it. I want it to lead to action, action in terms of progressive congressmen elected who will serve the interests of all the people regardless of special pressure groups. Education and sound analysis—yes. But always in terms of action.

In all this the staff of the *New Republic* agrees, and we are inspired to think we can, in the years immediately ahead, render a great service to the cause of world peace and prosperity. I take on this task with the greatest enthusiasm because I know there are millions of progressive-minded Americans who want to cooperate to usher in the peaceful century of the Common Man.

The Promise of American Life

THE PROMISE of American life was obscure in 1909. Bryan was beaten. Norris and La Follette spoke for a small and persecuted minority. President Taft was held in the power of the trusts. The trumpets of the New Freedom and the Bull Moose Campaign had not been sounded.

These failures were symptoms of a deeper illness. It seemed a grave and dangerous illness to a young author and journalist, Herbert Croly, reflecting in 1909 on his fears for his country's future.

Yet in a nation evolving in the ferment and vigor of its Jeffersonian and Jacksonian traditions, Croly found more reason to hope than to fear. He called his book *The Promise of American Life*. The deep impression of its argument on another young American, Willard Straight, led four years later to the founding of the *New Republic*.

America, Croly found, had been established by its founders on a set of principles embodying the conditions of human fulfilment. America's genius (as he argued in "The New Republic Idea") was

> an original fund of truth, that consisted at bottom of a vision of the latent goodness and regeneracy of human nature—a goodness which would surely come to the surface if only society would permit to the ordinary man and woman a fair and full chance of self-expression. The way to give them a fair chance was to guarantee to them civil and political liberty, the opportunity to work and the right

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to enjoy its fruits, and a sufficient measure of education. This truth is clearly an imaginative affirmation rather than a finished formula or a particular body of law. It is a constructive faith in the possibilities of human nature, a vision of individual and social development of which the traditions and the institutions of the country would be merely the temporary and occasional instruments. It would depend for its realization upon a wide distribution among the people of economic opportunity and responsibility and some kind of liberating education. The truth of such an ideal could not be taken for granted—it depended on the fresh impulse, knowledge, thought and invention which the American mind could bring to the business of using the changing materials of industry, politics and social life for the benefit of a better fulfilment of human beings.

In the America of 1909, Croly found a nation turning its back on its earliest vision and the genius of its liberty. He found stagnation in the place of daring; an adulation of conservatism in the place of a love of progress. In the corruption of commercial power and success, Americans were behaving "as if the way to keep patriotic truths alive was to remember them conscientiously, to repeat them sedulously and to praise them indiscriminately." Americans considered themselves a chosen people whose success was guaranteed by Manifest Destiny. They took for granted the permanence and perfection of their institutions. They condemned as un-American those who sought progress.

This stagnation seemed doubly dangerous to Croly because it came at a moment when the extinction of the frontier, the concentration of economic power and the centralization of political authority imperiled freedom in America. Croly found the growing tensions of class struggle as ominous as the tensions of slavery and abolitionism. He found in America the seeds of the same spirit of irrepressible conflict leading to civil war. America's new attitude of uncritical complacency was utterly incapable of maintaining freedom in this country in such a time.

The hope of avoiding civil strife and of maintaining liberty was to "keep possession of the national fund of truth, not by memorizing and repeating it, but by bringing it down to date and renewing it." It meant full and fair discussion, to "break up the unmanageable class conflict into minor, specific manageable conflicts." It meant discussion in a weekly journal of opinion "transfigured by a common conviction of the latent regeneracy and brotherhood of mankind." It would be directed first to the schools and churches, to arouse them to the dangers and the opportunities before them. "Even an insignificant weekly can do something," Croly ended, "to keep faith in those members of the community who believe in the power of the truth to set men free."

In this spirit, three months after the outbreak of the First World War, a small band of editors, Croly, Walter Lippmann, Francis Hackett, Philip Littell, Walter Weyl and Charlotte Rudyard, published the first issue of the *New Republic*. It crusaded at once for minimum wages, equal rights for women, an executive budget, collective bargaining, old-age pensions, social insurance, fact-finding in labor disputes and, most important of all, war aims. Meeting in a small group with Colonel House, the editors of the *New Republic* gave shape to the idea of a League of Nations.

But the purpose of the *NR* was not only political reform. "Its object," Croly wrote, "was less to inform or entertain its readers than to start little insurrections in the realm of their convictions." In this spirit, the first issue carried an essay by Rebecca West on "The Duty of Harsh Criticism," a defense of a new book by William James, a critical review of a new romance called *Pygmalion*. The purpose of the *NR* was to challenge the corruption of commercialism in American art and literature and to set standards of achievement in all forms of culture beyond the standards of profit and power.

The promise of American life is obscure in 1946. In one year, the spirit of the irrepressible conflict has again fastened itself on the consciousness of men. Democratic socialism as yet offers no common ground on which the USSR and America can meet. The beginnings of the New Deal are clearly inadequate to solve the coming dislocation in our economy: there is no clear way beyond the New Deal.

Yet the ferment is still active in America. The "old revolutionary leaven of democracy," as Henry Adams once described it, is still at work; the hope of America is still in the ceaseless renewal and reaffirmation of our original fund of truth; our belief in the possibilities of human nature.

This belief has been fundamental in the life of Henry Wallace. In offering him the editorship of the *New Republic*, we have taken a decision as important to us as the founding of our magazine. We do intend, as Wallace has said, that the *New Republic* shall be a window on the future, read by workers, small businessmen and farmers all over the world.

The task of a journal of opinion today is not simply to arouse the schools and churches, as it was thirty-two years ago. Far wider groups today have been and must be aroused. Beyond the responsibility of the individual to take individual action, which concerned Croly, there is the responsibility of the progressive community to organize and act together. The small insurrections have been started; the task today is to give them cohesion.

This does not mean that we shall turn in any way from the spirit in which the *New Republic* was founded. Our purpose is still to develop ideas of value. To seek a wider audience for these ideas does not mean writing *down* to that audience. Tom Paine was not writing *down* to the soldiers of the Continental Army

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when he began: "These are the times that try men's souls."

We shall, of course, concern ourselves with all aspects of American life. We shall maintain our editorial independence. We reassert that militant liberalism is our passion and our faith; that the strengthening of the United Nations is for us a primary objective; that we stand for no individual group or nation, right or wrong. We believe, as Croly did, in the ability of the American people to find through our democratic institutions the conditions of human fulfilment. And we believe in America's ability to establish, with other nations, a world society.

What Blocks World Peace?

THE 129 DAYS of the Paris conference have demonstrated that world peace is unattainable without concert among the four world powers.

Last summer, after 50 days, the Council of Foreign Ministers failed to resolve big-power differences. The United States and Great Britain then sought refuge in a conference of 21 nations. This week, after 79 noisy days, there is still no peace.

The area of agreement at the conference of 21 nations coincided precisely with that of the foreign ministers who had sat earlier in the Luxembourg Palace. There was solid agreement on the issues which had been decided by Byrnes, Bevin, Bidault and Molotov. There was a 15-to-6 division on the issues on which the great powers had failed to agree.

In a world dominated by power it is fatuous to argue that the 15-to-6 divisions at Paris mirror the actual strength of the bloc forces. Whether the Western democracies like it or not, the real power in the postwar world is closely balanced between East and West. And in the stage of peacemaking now about to begin, Russia may be expected to find means more accurate than bloc voting to express the real equation. That means, of course, use of the veto in the Council of Foreign Ministers.

That fact was recognized originally at Yalta by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, and in the statement at Paris last week by Smuts of South Africa, that "there is no fundamental dividing line between East and West. There is place, space and function for all of us in this wide world."

When Byrnes failed to achieve agreement in the first Council meeting at Paris, he came home demanding a conference of 21 nations that "would permit free discussion in the peace conference by all the nations that did the fighting."

Now there has been that "free discussion" by the victorious nations. But Byrnes's hope that a parliamentary debate and a vote of opposing blocs could bring agreement is resulting in disillusion.

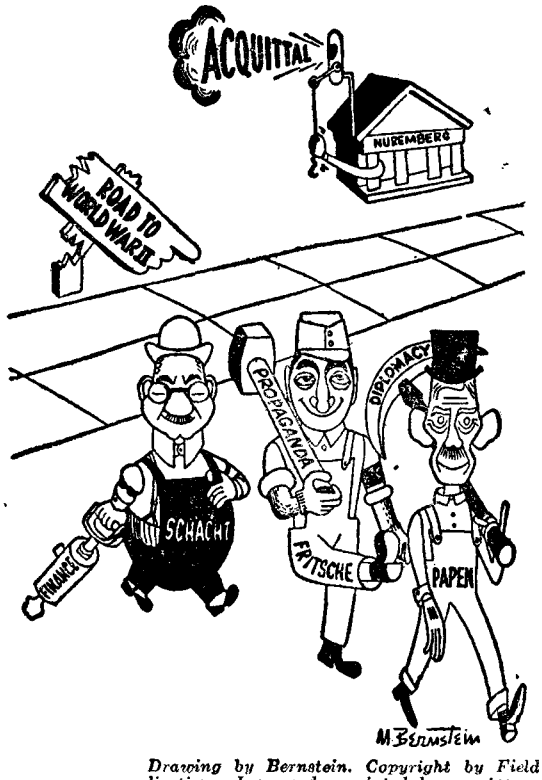
There are still the questions of the regime for Trieste; international traffic on the Danube; territorial adjustments; the unsolved differences on reparations. New problems are being created that dwarf those at Paris. Atomic controls, the Dardanelles, the US fleet in the Mediterranean and saber-rattling plans for a world flight of super-bombers. Britain is muddling deeper into the morass of power and petroleum in Palestine, Iran and Greece.

The 129 days at the Luxembourg have added up to failure. The ministers now are coming to the New World for a new beginning. Peace rests on the extent to which the ministers' conference and the Assembly of the United Nations can take up the slack in world diplomacy. The full and dramatic agenda of the Assembly is reason to hope that it will succeed where the conference has failed.

Worm's-Eye View of Politics

Richwood, W. Va.

A *New Republic* correspondent traveling through the coal-mining area where wages are low and prices getting higher found the public bewildered and mad at what was happening in Washington. It was generally agreed that price control was about over. People wondered how high prices would go—whether they would be able to afford the milk and butter they need for growing children, the meat they need for working men. They wondered whether the spree we are heading for would mean another 1932 and even worse suffering later. But the public didn't know at whom to be angry.



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"Now, for a NEW Paving Job."

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It saw President Truman and the Democratic politicians doing the dirty work, but somehow it sensed that they were not entirely to blame. It is hard for people this far away from Washington without much political background to understand how the Republicans are responsible when the Democrats are in power.

The *New Republic's* correspondent told how he had watched the show in Washington and knew at first hand who was responsible. He admitted that Truman was partially to blame because it was he and his aides who first began lifting controls when the war ended a year ago—but he tried to explain how since then Truman and the Democrats had fought hard to save price control, but the Republicans, with the help of a few Democrats who are closer to big business than to the people, had done the job. He told the whole story in detail to anyone who would listen. The people were ready, in most cases, to listen—but did they believe? Only election day will tell. If they vote wisely it will show that the people understand. If they stay home or vote Republican, it will show that the attempt of Taft, Wherry *et al.* to confuse the issue has succeeded—and God help the country.

Nobody Loves the WSB

The Wage Stabilization Board is probably the most widely misunderstood postwar agency. It does not control general wage levels, except in the most indirect fashion; the only field in which wages are now directly controlled is building construction, which has its own Wage Adjustment Board. The WSB is a filter, designed to save the OPA some trouble. When an employer decides to increase wages, if his product is price-controlled, he brings the wage increase to the WSB to see if he may use the higher wage costs as the basis for applying to the OPA for price relief. Wage disputes never reach the WSB.

The yardstick by which the WSB determines whether a given wage increase is approvable for purposes of price relief is fairly simple. A wage increase is approvable if it represents a 33-percent cost-of-living increase since 1941, or if it will correct certain narrowly defined inequities. Any time an employer decides he will absorb the increase and keep his old price, he doesn't need to bother with the WSB at all. No union bent on catching up with the cost of living will accept a low wage increase designed merely to fit the outmoded WSB standards of approval; hence labor opposition to any form of indirect wage control.

Time and again, the WSB has proved unable to make its decisions stand against union opposition, employer opposition or certain expedient combinations of both. The best example was the maritime ruckus in September, when the WSB, applying its yardstick (designed by the adaptable John R. Steelman in an earlier case), ruled in effect that the AFL could not be paid more than the CIO for able-bodied seamen. The government itself was a large-scale employer in this case. The private shipowners had agreed to absorb the amount by which the AFL wages exceeded those of the CIO. Steelman decided that under the Walsh-Healey Act the government must pay the "prevailing," or AFL, wage, and the WSB's decision was disregarded.

In a political move, the employer members of the WSB recently submitted their resignations, calling for an end to wage control. Their confrères in the higher echelons of industry were calling for an end to price control. The labor members kept still: they believed in price control. And in a certain sense, the WSB with its old 33-percent standard was doing what Walter Reuther had tried to do to the automobile industry: forcing industry to absorb wage increases. To amend the yardstick by which the WSB judges wage increases, or to make it flexible, would be to tell employers they could go directly to the OPA and get permission to pass the entire added labor cost on to the consumer.

To our way of thinking, if this is done the WSB might as well be abolished entirely.

Lobbyists Are Hiding Out

The Regulation of Lobbying Act, which was contained in the congressional-reorganization bill passed just before Congress adjourned, has not been very successful in its first test. About 75 individuals and organization representatives furnished the required information to the Clerk of the House before the first quarterly deadline on October 10, but the list is more interesting for its omissions than for what it reveals.

Representatives of the AFL, CIO and many of their constituent unions registered, as did the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Veterans' Committee. Others which did so included the League of Women Voters, Americans United for World Government, the Union for Democratic Action.

Conspicuous by their absence were the National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and a majority of the trade associations whose Washington representatives are most often thought of as lobbyists. Penalties for failure to report include a prohibition against lobbying for three years, and a $5,000 fine or one year's imprisonment, or both. But ambiguities in the wording of the new law make it doubtful whether they can be prosecuted for failure to register, or even whether they were technically required to. However, such organizations as the Western Beet Growers' Association, the National Association of Home Builders and the American National Livestock Association decided to register.

A beginning has been made toward healthy publicity for the pressure groups which so often make or break legislation in Washington, but it is obvious that the law must be clarified before it will be fully effective.

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The average salary of the lobbyists who registered seems to be about $100 a week, plus varying allowances for expenses. Top salaries are the $15,000 plus $5,000 retirement fund for the representative of the American Medical Association, and the $15,000 plus actual expenses, paid by the Mississippi Valley Association.

The Army's New Gag Rule

A new gag rule on discussion of foreign policy has been imposed since the recent Byrnes-Wallace controversy. This time the victims are members of the armed services, who have been instructed by the Army to omit that subject from organized discussions among troops.

A complete reversal of the principles of troop orientation developed during the war, the new policy was published last week in Army Talk No. 140, prepared by the Army Information and Education Division, when the guide on Secretary Byrnes's Stuttgart speech carried instructions to discussion leaders which read:

> Since Secretary Byrnes's address is an expression of government policy, discussion leaders will take an affirmative attitude toward the policy as presented, and maintain discussion within the bounds outlined by this Army Talk, rather than lead a debate on the wisdom of our foreign policy.

In issuing such instructions, the Army obviously revealed that its original aim "to be true to the historical ideals of the United States, the individual soldier's prerogatives of thought and expression and the Army's traditional position of nonpartisanship," through open discussions on matters pertaining to governmental and military policies, has been scuttled.

The Scare Campaign

THE SCARE CAMPAIGN against "radical" control of Congress and the Administration is going on with as much vehemence as might be expected if "radicals" were in control of both Congress and the White House. But since neither "radicals" nor liberals have much influence at either place, the traditional man on Mars must find it difficult to understand what all the shouting is about.

In addition to the cries of the GOP about Mr. Truman's Communist friends and associates, a considerable portion of the press that calls itself independent has been seeing things under the bed. It is not surprising when Hearst and McCormick and Gannett have the jitters, but it is alarming when newspapers that hitherto have attempted to do a job of middle-of-the-road reporting fall for the same scare words. Any day now Senator George and Representative Doughton are going to be called "left-wingers" and Secretary Snyder and George Allen will be denounced as tools of Moscow.

The New York *Times* last week sent James B. Reston, who once wrote a book on the need for international coöperation, out to Chicago to find out about American Action, Inc., which is described in detail elsewhere in this issue. American Action has its roots in the old American Liberty League and the prewar America First Committee, particularly the latter. The chief supporters of the new organization are General Robert E. Wood, former chairman of America First, Colonel Robert R. McCormick, Ernest T. Weir, Merwin K. Hart and Upton Close. But Mr. Reston could find nothing "isolationist" about it, and went on to whitewash it and suggest that it was just a conservative counterpart of the CIO-PAC. Mr. Reston deserves a Pulitzer Prize for his scoop; he is the first person to discover that Colonel McCormick and General Wood are not isolationists.

On the same day, the *Times* reported a broadside against communism issued by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. The *Times's* account said that Francis P. Matthews explained the report at a press conference "and answered questions, many from correspondents for publications which follow the communist 'line'."

The cry of the Life Insurance Policy-Holders' Protective Association is that if the radicals aren't thrown out of Congress the value of your life-insurance dollar will fall to 25 cents. That's an old refrain, first heard in the attempt to stop Roosevelt in 1936. But, as the chairman of the association said in a letter soliciting funds, ". . . In our six and a half years of experience we have found protection of life insurance the most effective of all appeals."

Robert E. Smith is chairman. "So long as there is a Democratic majority in both houses," his pamphlet says, "the CIO-PAC will dominate congressional policies. Therefore, a Republican majority in Congress is a necessity in this emergency. As a matter of self-interest, you, a policy-holder, and particularly your wife, should vote and work to that end." Smith is conducting a campaign to raise $163,250 so that he may distribute five million copies of that pamphlet before November 5.

It is worth noting that Smith's outfit has been repudiated by the leading life-insurance companies. Holgar J. Johnson, president of the Institute of Life Insurance, told the Chicago *Sun*, which exposed Smith's outfit, that the Policy-Holders' Protective Association "is in essence a personal political promotion of Robert E. Smith. His association is an outgrowth of a promotion that started some years ago and has been revived periodically during every important political campaign."

In 1944 Smith's outfit was known as the People's Committee to Defend Life Insurance and Savings. It raised $69,677.63 in that campaign, according to the report of the Senate Campaign Expenditures Committee. "A substantial portion of the expenditures," the

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Senate committee said, "was paid to the Progress Printing and Mailing Company, of which the same Robert E. Smith was reported to be the owner."

The Department of Justice is now seeking to determine whether Smith and the officers of American Action, Inc., have violated the Corrupt Practices Act. The Act requires that political organizations seeking to influence elections in two or more states file with the Clerk of the House a full report on their receipts and expenditures. At the end of the week, neither group had filed the required information. The criminal division of the Department of Justice is investigating.

Sabotage by the Meatmen

THE GREATEST double hold-up in the history of this country is now under way. In its first phase a single powerful industry is attempting to starve 140 million people into yielding to it. At the same time a national political party is abetting and exploiting this strike against the people in order to win an election. The reference, of course, is to the meat industry and its deliberately created shortage, and to the Republican Party and its campaign strategy.

The 1946 meat story begins about last March. By that time, the meat industry—livestock growers, packers and many retailers—saw a chance to destroy the price controls that were limiting profits. The usual lobbying tactics quickly brought a large part of Congress into line. But this was not enough. In face of strong popular support of price control, Congress did not quite dare to wipe out meat controls. The House in April rejected the Flannagan amendment which would have done precisely that.

The next move, therefore, had to be to force a change in public opinion. The first step, and an easy one, was to convince the cattle raisers that controls were going, and that fat profits would lie ahead if they held back their livestock until after controls were killed. They did. Week by week meat supplies grew smaller, until by the end of June the butchers' refrigerators were practically empty. At the same time, the Meat Institute, the organization of the packers, undertook to discredit price controls by conducting a survey that purported to show that about 80 percent of the meat was in the black market. The implication was that while the majority of the people were doing without meat, others were getting it.

Both maneuvers were astonishingly successful. Public opinion shifted enough for the Senate, under the leadership of Senator Wherry (R, Nebr.) and other Republicans, to vote to end all meat controls. Later, part of the industry's victory was lost when a joint House-Senate conference committee decided to permit the new Price Decontrol Board to restore controls if necessary.

But the damage was done. Controls went off on July 1, and on that day livestock began to move into market. It came by the thousands, some fat cattle ready for slaughter, but also thousands of lean animals that should not have been marketed until several months later. Prices soared. If prices prevailing on June 29 are taken as 100, cattle prices went to 122.9 in the week ending August 31. On the same scale, wholesale beef prices went to 206.

The farmers cleaned up substantially, but the packing industry, as these official figures demonstrate, ran away with the huge share of the profits. As a result, retail prices rose so steeply—50 to 80 percent on most cuts—that the Decontrol Board had no choice but to order ceilings restored.

The controls began going into effect again the first week of September. It was as though a faucet had been turned. The flow of livestock to market ended overnight. Pens were empty. Slaughtering fell 70 percent below what it had been in the corresponding weeks a year earlier. In very short order, the customers began to feel the pinch. The meat famine was on again. And once again public opinion began to waver.

At this point, the Republican Party coined its slogan "Had Enough?—Vote Republican." The party which had led the move to abolish controls, which had brought about the prevailing chaos, began to cry that the Administration was responsible.

THE DEMOCRATS, scared out of their wits, simply cringed or repeated the Republican cry for removal of controls. Instead of taking the offensive and telling the people who was to blame, the politicos ran crying to Washington. The campaign reached its first peak in the last week of September. Only when the President issued a statement on the 26th, saying firmly that nothing would be improved by lifting controls and that they would not be removed, was it temporarily set back.

The meat industry, however, did not budge. Nearly all of the cattle reaching the market were quickly bought up and shipped off again to Midwest feed lots. Separate investigations by the CIO and the Chicago *Sun* disclosed that the largest purchasers were packers and chain stores. To obtain space in which to fatten their cattle, they bought or leased many of the largest feed lots. The CIO charged that their holdings are so extensive that they have revolutionized the feed industry and have virtually squeezed out the small independent operator.

For these feeder cattle, the big buyers have paid amazingly high prices. They are pouring more expensive feed into them. By the time they are ready for market it will be impossible for the owners to sell them at ceiling prices without taking a big loss. If packers and chain stores and feeders are to make their gamble pay, price controls must be destroyed.

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Washington Wire—Truman and the Meat Crisis

WE ALWAYS enjoy dropping a friendly word of advice to President Truman and are gratified when he takes it. His speech to the country Monday night explaining and defending his economic program was really inevitable under the circumstances even though we did urge it. In fact he had no alternative. Meat had become the paramount political issue of the campaign. With the election three weeks off and the tide seemingly running against the Administration, a situation developed where Truman had to do two things: Explain his case to the nation in the strongest possible terms; overcome the midterm voter apathy that normally plays into Republican hands.

Truman's case is strong. The meat shortage leads back to failure of Congress and Republicans to give him authority for a consistent price-control program. Radio puts an extraordinary weapon into the hands of any President. Truman is certainly no Roosevelt and is wise not to try to carry off a forensic tour de force like FDR's famous Teamsters' speech. But with every sign pointing to a strong and perhaps overwhelming political trend against the Administration, he was simply forced to take the microphone and give his version of the issue that suddenly and rather absurdly transcends all others.

The plain fact is, of course, as this magazine explained last week, that the meat shortage grew out of the OPA "holiday" and refusal of a conservative coalition in Congress to implement Truman's price-control program. (The deeper fact was a characteristic breakdown between the executive and legislature.) Stockmen have meat and are holding it off the market, assuming that Truman can't maintain his controls and that they will get higher prices later. It is a producers' "strike," if you don't mind the word. One thing is certain—there is a lot of meat in the country, and under almost any circumstances one can foresee more of it will shortly come to the American dinner table.

We have been circulating among Washington economists lately. Many of them have a quaint belief that the man-in-the-street understands their curious jargon. Now translating into simple English, we wish to report a current shift of emphasis among them which seems important.

They think America's basic economic situation is very strong. To start off with, they think we have done a good, a really excellent, job in absorbing 11 million veterans into the economy. True, unnecessary inflation has appeared, but it was better to have the job done with some inflation than not at all. So far as the veterans are concerned, America has shot Niagara Falls and is alive and chipper.

Now comes the question of inflation. There is increasing belief here that corrective elements are appearing. It's still touch-and-go, and America can easily fall off the economic tightrope to either inflation or deflation. For the moment inflation is still the big danger, but correctives are setting in. Calm economists here view the stock-market slump, which has Wall Street writhing in anxiety, as probably a healthy development. Stock prices were just too high. Now they are down some. Many other prices also are, and remain, too high: food and clothing, farm lands, construction costs and city real estate. Most economists here feel that food and clothing prices are at their peak, are coming down, and will do so fairly soon. Buyers are beginning to come to their senses on a lot of things, it is thought.

From this contemplative, long-range view, the hullabaloo over meat seems trivial. There's plenty of meat; Americans aren't going to starve; even politicians will find it hard to wreck the economy. While deflation can, of course, go too far, our informants feel the almost unlimited demand for new homes, automobiles, goods replacements generally, the foreign demand, the solvent condition of domestic buyers, all point to long-range prosperity, whatever immediate shake-out may occur. In fact, what is seen now by these economists is a big leveling-off process, and if the public doesn't believe it's happening—look at nylons. Production in nylons has almost caught up with demand; wait a while and you will see the same thing in other clothing and food items. These economists mostly have no brief for management, labor or politicians. What they want above all is top-speed production. They take a dim view of politicians but think that if the latter *do* want to help, they can keep up taxes and can see that the federal budget is well overbalanced.

Notes.—Exposure of the new, rightist "American Action, Inc," sponsored by Weir, Pew, McCormick, duPont, General Wood, Merwin K. Hart, Upton Close and all their little friends, was a three-man journalistic coup done simultaneously by Carroll Kilpatrick, Chicago *Sun*, Edward Harris, St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, and Charles Vandevander, New York *Post*. . . . Behind the Supreme Court's velvet-and-iron curtain, Justices Black and Jackson probably aren't on speaking terms; we watched the court's opening ceremony last week and were impressed by the huge job competent, shaggy-browed Fred Vinson, the new Chief Justice, has before him. . . . Democrats are getting hope out of city vote-registration figures, which are heavier than anyone expected. . . . Republicans are bouncing with confidence. In Ohio, for instance, two Republicans, Taft and Bricker, really feel they are running for the presidency; not against Democrats but against each other. . . . This column shivers at the thought of President Bricker; he would probably try to repeal the graduated income tax. . . . Incidentally the War Department has just yielded to protests by the Chicago *Tribune* and Senator Wayland Brooks and withdrawn a college textbook on economics because, according to Brigadier General C. T. Lanham, it was teaching "soak-the-rich ideas"—graduated income and inheritance taxes. . . . Selective-service draft registration is almost certainly out for good. . . . There'll be more meat after the election, no matter who wins.

Washington T. R. B.

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Political Roundup— Senate Election Prospects

THE REPUBLICANS must bat 1.000 to win control of the Senate in November. They must hold all 40 of the seats they now have and win nine more to do it. Unless they gain at least six this year, there is a good chance that they may not control the Senate in 1948 even if they were to elect a Republican President, for 10 of the 15 Democrats whose terms expire in 1949 are from Southern states where the Republicans don't have a chance.

There are 36 Senate seats at stake in this election, 24 now held by Democrats and 12 by Republicans. The experts on both sides agree that there will be no change in 21, of which 11 are held by Democrats and 10 by Republicans. Only 11 seats are classified as doubtful by both parties; two of those are now Republican and nine are Democratic. That means that the Republicans would have to hold their two doubtful seats, in California and Kentucky, and win all nine doubtful Democratic seats, in Delaware, Idaho, Massachusetts, Missouri, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Washington and West Virginia, to win a majority in the Senate next year.

In four of the nine doubtful Democratic states, incumbent Senators are running for reëlection. A shift of three percent of the 1940 vote would defeat Senators Tunnell and Guffey, in Delaware and Pennsylvania. It would take a six-percent shift to defeat Harley Kilgore in West Virginia, however, and seven percent to defeat Senator Walsh in Massachusetts. Tunnell and Guffey ran behind President Roosevelt in 1940, when Kilgore and Walsh ran ahead of the national ticket.

The Republicans claim that they are certain of taking at least Ohio and Pennsylvania away from the Democrats. Missouri, New York, Massachusetts and West Virginia follow in about that order on the Republican dope sheet. The Democrats have high hopes of getting both California and Kentucky back into the fold, with Will Rogers Jr. against Senator Knowland and John Young Brown against John Sherman Cooper, former Republican judge, and they are still hopeful of picking up another seat, not on the joint list, with Howard McMurray in Wisconsin.

The meat shortage is an especially big issue in the Massachusetts campaign between Senator Walsh and Henry Cabot Lodge, with the Democrats taking most of the heat to date. Both parties are relying on the personal following of the candidates to bring them through. The Democrats are handicapped in Missouri and Washington by candidates who are rather colorless campaigners and for that reason may not pull a large total vote on election day. Senator Frank Briggs has a generally good record of support for the Administration, but thus far he has failed to stir up the public interest that seems needed to bring him in ahead of the Republican candidate James Kem, wealthy Kansas City lawyer. In Washington, Governor Mon Wallgren and Senior Senator Magnusson have taken the stump on behalf of Senator Mitchell, which should help counteract his weakness as a campaigner. Mitchell's almost perfect record of progressive voting is doing some loud talking for him, too.

The Democrats are sure that Harley Kilgore will hold his seat in West Virginia in spite of GOP claims. Kilgore received 56 percent of the vote when he was elected in 1940, running ahead of President Roosevelt, a campaign in which John L. Lewis supported Willkie. Lewis' United Mine Workers number 104,000 members in West Virginia, which has 1,060,000 registered voters. The miners and their families are usually the decisive vote in the state. So far Lewis has not endorsed either Kilgore or the Republican Thomas Sweeney, whom Kilgore defeated in 1940. The big worry of Kilgore's supporters is that the light vote in the primary will be repeated on November 5. They remember how Republican Revercomb nosed out Matt Neely in the light voting in 1942.

The Republicans have hopes of picking up one or more Democratic seats from Arizona, Montana, New Mexico and Wyoming, although the Democrats are sure that all of these are safe. In New Mexico, Republican Pat Hurley is making large outlays on newspaper and radio advertising and is giving free barbecues all over the state. But Senator Chavez is nailing him as a tourist who does not really know the state's problems, as a Hoover man, as the Secretary of War who called out the troops against the veterans after the last war, and finally as the Sinclair Company's oil man. Chavez is confident of reëlection.

Idaho. – News of Senator Wayne Morse's activities in this campaign on top of the news of Harold Stassen's support of Western isolationism has come as an added shock to progressives. Morse recently allowed the Republican National Committee to book him into the state of Washington to campaign for the reactionary Harry Cain against Senator Hugh Mitchell, who stands for all the things Morse professes to believe. Now Morse has gone all the way on party regularity in stumping Idaho for reactionary Republican Henry Dworshak for the Senate against progressive Democrat George Donert. Senator Glen Taylor, who is actively supporting Donert, last week spoke out loudly against Morse's hypocrisy. "Certainly no amount of political pressure could force me to campaign for, or publicly indorse, such reactionary Democrats as Senators Bilbo and Pappy O'Daniel," Taylor said. "I had expected Wayne Morse to have an equal amount of stamina."

Wisconsin. – Senatorial candidates Howard McMurray, Democrat, and Joseph McCarthy, Republican, discovered over a friendly drink after a joint debate the other evening that they agree on the probable size of Wisconsin's vote on November 5. They expect it to total over one million—more than 200,000 above the average for an off-year election. The main reason is the great interest in a referendum on the use of state school buses by parochial schools. The heavy Protestant opposition vote should be to the disadvantage of McCarthy, a Catholic.

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Civil Liberties in the Soviet Union

by Harold J. Laski

IT IS NO EASY thing to make the citizen whose knowledge about Russia is mainly derived from the press understand that the problem of freedom there is more complicated than he imagines. He rightly insists that there is no writ of habeas corpus in Russia, and that this is a grave threat to that freedom of the person upon which the Anglo-American tradition has been so wisely firm.

He knows that the Russian press and publishing, the movie and the radio, the theatre and the school, are all instruments of thought which the government controls. He has heard of the dread secret police, of the treason trials and the purges. He suspects that the reality of the electoral process in a one-party state is less solid than its official exponents would claim.

Above all, he notes that great efforts are made to prevent that ease of movement, of inquiry and criticism and friendly discussion which are of the essence of life in a mature Western democracy and against whose introduction the rulers of Russia are still adamant. Even if it is foolish to talk of an "iron curtain" which separates Russia from the outer world, there is still, about things of urgency, a veil which shrouds them from knowledge which their world sadly needs.

I think there is hardly one point in all these matters on which a strong and, sometimes, a complete case could not be made out against the rulers of Russia. There is no writ of habeas corpus in Russia; in its absence the danger of the grave abuse of power by the secret police is instant and profound. It is part of the consequence of that danger that few Russians, even Russians of eminence, have that easy intimacy of relations with foreigners that is so important to civilized living. In its absence, there is an inevitable sense of constraint on both sides that gives to each in the other's country a feeling of being hostages in a fortress rather than free and friendly visitors in a society equally free and friendly. And this is the more important because the Russians are naturally a friendly people whose capacity for affection on a level of simple and gracious equality is remarkable.

There can be no doubt that this sense of constraint comes from the fact that the present Russian government was born of a revolution, that it lived dangerously for many years, fighting civil war and conspiracy, and that its mood is still in a high degree the mood of the successful conspirator who is not wholly convinced that he is safe. It is also, I think, true that in any state where the police have so long been given exceptional powers, they tend to become a vested interest.

No change the Russian government could make would be better for its own internal well-being or for its international status than one which secured the classic civil liberties of the person to all people resident in Russia and banished the brooding omnipresence of the police power from the center to the circumference of the state.

No government which acts so largely in the dark ought to be surprised if there seems to the outsider to be something sinister in its activities. That is why the critics of Russia are able to make her concentration camps and her treatment of political prisoners an index to something ugly and inhuman. Where nothing is known, everything is suspected; and the silence of the Russian government remains in this realm a massive, even a brutal, thing which, because it cannot be explained away, is a grave disservice to the building of adequate relations with the outside world.

NEEDED: EXPERIMENT WITH FREEDOM

It is necessary to say this at the very outset, and it is necessary to say it loudly and firmly. Too few governments ever routinize their own foundations; and too few, accordingly, ever realize in time that their postulates are in need of public and proclaimed revision. The Russian government is no exception to this rule. Ten years ago, when the Constitution of 1936 was announced, it looked as though, at long last, the great step would be taken which transformed processes of coercion into processes of consent.

But then came the tragic and wanton assassination of Kirov. Things moved backwards, and the growing power of fascism made the transformation seem premature to men who knew that they must be strong if they were to maintain their political system as a going concern. From their angle, the decision seemed natural enough. But it was a decision which failed to take the risk—which is always a wise risk—of dealing with conspiracy by experimenting with freedom. It is a decision the rulers of Russia are bound to make if they are to give their faith the environment of institutional permanence. The sooner it is made the stronger will be the support, internal and external, extended to them.

But even when this is said, there remains a deeper problem. The problem of civil liberty has not been

Harold J. Laski, the distinguished political scientist and Laborite, recently visited Russia as head of a British Labor Party good-will mission. During his stay in Moscow, he was received by Premier Stalin and other Soviet notables. His article is copyright, 1946, by the Overseas News Agency, Inc.

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solved in America. No one who knows the Southern states can imagine that the brooding fears which haunt daily life there do other than poison the very sources of freedom. No one who watches the industrial battle can say with any certainty that the major principles of industrial freedom are something upon which the workers can permanently count.

There is more than Englishmen or Americans can willingly admit in the Russian insistence that, in an unequal country, private ownership of newspapers, the movies, the radio and similar instruments of opinion is a principle which risks the hope that truth will ever win through to that equal encounter where, as Milton perhaps rightly prophesied, it will never be worsted. For the encounter, to be open, must be equal. No one, I imagine, seriously suspects that Colonel McCormick or Lord Beaverbrook, Hearst or Lord Kelmsley, are any more concerned than a communist censor to make it open. Henry Luce has shown, at least as well as *Pravda,* that a man who knows how to select the news well, and weight it cunningly, can make an *Iliad* of the paper that he prints.

Private ownership in this realm shapes the battle to ends which sacrifice the need for the facts to be before the community for weighing to the need for preserving the power and privilege inherent in this ownership. It is not enough to say that not even this ownership prevented the victory of Franklin D. Roosevelt in America or of the Labor Party in Britain. If less completely, the press of both countries, the movies—and in the United States, the radio—seek to serve ends precisely like those which the Russians have at heart. And it is only when we begin to see the issue of social freedom in the context of private ownership that the real problems can be defined. It is at this point that the Russian approach takes on a significance it is vital to understand.

Preview of the Assembly

by Edward Montgomery

When PAUL-HENRI SPAAK of Belgium, first president of the first General Assembly of the United Nations, drops his gavel in the new assembly hall at Flushing Meadow at four p. m. on Wednesday, October 23, it will be in a very different mood and atmosphere from that of the opening of the first part of this session in Central Hall, London, little more than nine months ago.

For one thing, most of the 500-odd delegates of the 51 member countries will be seeing the United Nations in its new home for the first time. A good many of them will be wondering about the reactions of the United Nations to its seven months in New York, perhaps a little also about the reactions of New York to the United Nations.

For another, the United Nations has been a going concern for the best part of a year. In London the delegates felt the enthusiasm of great beginnings. Nine months have worn a lot of gilt off the gingerbread, and they will approach their weeks of deliberation in a cooler, less fulsome, more critical mood.

I think they will be happy about their new assembly hall itself. The United Nations and New York City together have done a good job on converting the skating rink into a spacious, dignified and well equipped setting for their discussions. They will not be so happy, I think, when they find they will be expected to rush back and forth the ten miles between Flushing Meadow and Lake Success in order to fit in committee meetings with plenary sessions. For only the plenaries and meetings of the General Committee can be accommodated in Flushing.

The Assembly is scheduled to last six and a half weeks—until about December 7, that is—and its program is a heavy one. Its provisional and supplementary agendas already list no less than 53 separate topics for discussion, many of them important and controversial. Roughly these break down into six major groups—here given neither in order of their importance or the order in which the Assembly will deal with them: (1) administrative and budgetary matters, four items; (2) elections to councils, two items; (3) economic and social matters, 13 items; (4) political matters, five items; (5) trusteeship matters, three items; (6) League of Nations matters, three items.

From the internal point of view of the United Nations itself, the items under the first group, administrative and budgetary matters, are undoubtedly the most important. Then will come the elections for the vacating seats on the Security Council and, to a lesser degree, on the Economic and Social Council. Under present rules, three of the non-permanent Security Council members—Egypt, Mexico and the Netherlands—must give up their seats next January, and are ineligible for reëlection. There is certain to be a strong effort by the USSR to place one or more of its satellites in the vacant seats—and an equally strong resistance by the United States and Britain to such a move. In all its recent voting the present Council has shown a steady tendency to divide nine-to-two

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against the Russians, with Poland the only Soviet supporter. The Soviet delegates will do their best to redress that adverse balance in the new Council by getting into it at least one more sure Soviet supporter. According to the Charter, qualifications for membership are: (a) ability of the member to contribute to the maintenance of peace and other purposes of the organization; (b) equitable geographical distribution.

By geographical distribution the retiring members should be replaced by one from the Middle East (Egypt); one from Latin America (Mexico); and one from Western Europe (the Netherlands). The British Empire group already has one representative on the Council (Australia), so it seems unlikely that another can be elected to it, though Canada will be a popular claimant.

A short list of the likely candidates for the three seats might be: Belgium or Norway to replace the Netherlands for Western Europe; Chile or Columbia to replace Mexico for Latin America; Iraq, Syria or Turkey to replace Egypt for the Middle East, with Russia strongly pressing the claims of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and the Ukraine for one or more places.

The six retiring members of the Economic and Social Council (all eligible for reëlection) are: Colombia, Greece, Lebanon, the Ukraine, the United States and Yugoslavia.

Problems for the Assembly

Among the most controversial of the numerous economic, social, humanitarian and cultural matters with which the Assembly will have to deal are the two which gave such headaches to the delegates of the Economic and Social Council at its recent session: provision for the care and resettlement of refugees and displaced persons in Europe and Asia, and methods of providing economic assistance for the reconstruction of countries suffering from war devastation. On both of these there were sharp differences of opinion in the Council between the Soviet group and the Western democracies—differences which the Assembly will have to try to resolve.

The outstanding political item is the Australian request for a full discussion of the way in which the Big Five veto power has been used—abused, Dr. Evatt would say—in the Security Council. This is backed by a Cuban request for the convocation of a constituent conference to review the Charter, with special reference to Article 27, which confers the power of veto on the Council's five permanent members. This subject is certain to provoke the liveliest, not to say the bitterest, debate of the whole Assembly, though few believe that any attempt to rewrite the Charter in the near future will succeed.

There is also the interesting complaint brought by India against the Union of South Africa concerning discrimination against Indian nationals in the Union. And at the last moment the Soviet Union has asked the Assembly to take up the question of the presence of American and British troops in non-enemy countries. When Gromyko brought this up in the Security Council, the Council dismissed it by a seven-to-two vote without even placing it on its agenda for a hearing. The Molotov-Byrnes-Bevin battle in the General Committee—which controls the admission of items to the Assembly's agenda—over whether the Assembly is to discuss it should be epic.

The debate on trusteeship matters is likely to be abortive unless the other powers holding League of Nations mandates—Britain, Belgium, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa—follow France's lead within the next few days and submit to the Assembly proposed "trusteeship agreements" for their mandated territories, and so make it possible for the Assembly to constitute the Trusteeship Council. The formation of this body, which is charged under the Charter with the protection of the interests and welfare of the non-self-governing peoples, has been too long delayed already, and its postponement for another year, until the next session of the Assembly, would be deplorable.

Among the formalities which make up a minor part of the Assembly's program, two will be very pleasant—the welcoming of three new members into the United Nations fold and the installation of the eight Assistant Secretaries-General, after Trygve Lie the top-ranking members of the Secretariat.

Having received the approbation of the Security Council, Afghanistan, Iceland and Sweden are virtually assured of receiving the necessary two-thirds majorities in the Assembly for their admission as new members—making a total of 54.

Stan MacGovern in the New York Post

Let's Mend the Fence

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There is one major—one might almost say life-or-death—problem for the United Nations which appears nowhere on the Assembly's agenda. It may hardly even be alluded to in the speeches of delegates. But its dark shadow will overhang all their debates and all their thoughts. That problem is this:

How is the United Nations to regain that spirit of high hope and endeavor in which it was born? Somewhere along the way, in the past nine months of effort and struggle and wrangling and dispute, that spirit seems to have withered and died. In his report to this forthcoming Assembly, Secretary-General Trygve Lie himself asks the question: "Has the United Nations succeeded in capturing the imagination and harnessing the enthusiasm of the peoples of the world?" And he answers doubtfully: "I, for one, do not feel that it does so in the degree that might be hoped."

But many observers who have watched the United Nations from its very conception at the Hull-Eden-Molotov conference at Moscow in 1943 feel that the situation today is actually even worse than Lie suggests. They feel it is not so much a matter of the United Nations *gaining* what it did not possess, but of *losing* what it has had. The United Nations, at its inception, *had* in fact "captured the imagination and harnessed the enthusiasm" of the world's peoples. But over recent months there has undoubtedly been a visible and steady dissipation of those reserves of enthusiasm, good will and support with which the United Nations started its account in the bank of world public opinion.

For this the Security Council, with its pitiful exhibitions of ineffectuality, its failure of leadership and its bitter wranglings, must bear a great part of the blame. But none of the United Nations organs is altogether exempt. The reason for this is only too easy to name: the acute, far-reaching and deep-seated differences in every field of human endeavor between the Soviet Union and its group of supporters, and the United States and Britain and their supporters.

The United Nations no longer holds the imagination or compels the enthusiasm of the peoples of the world because their faith in it has been diminished, their hope for it disillusioned.

Whatever else the Assembly does or does not achieve at this session, if it can accomplish anything toward restoring that faith and repairing that hope it will have done well.

The PAC Today

by Jack Kroll

THE CIO Political Action Committee has an urgent, immediate task as well as a long-term responsibility. Its immediate task is to see that the voters of the United States in the critical congressional elections of 1946 are not lulled into inaction or led back to reaction. This task can be accomplished through the mobilization of American progressives behind progressive candidates on November 5. Our long-term responsibility is to see that the people of the United States are continuously informed of the activities of their representatives in committee rooms and their voting records on the floor of Congress. Our interest in politics begins with the vitally important primary elections and carries through to the general election results.

It is a matter of historical record that the people of the United States are naturally progressive. They are led to reaction by men who represent special interests and privilege. These men exist in both parties, and many of them are powerful enemies, not only of organized labor, but of everyone who works either with his head or his hands. Progressives, with the PAC and its allies as a spearhead, must wake the voters from their lethargy and discouragement to beat the coalition of reactionaries who dominated the Seventy-ninth Congress and are seeking to dominate the Eightieth. Reaction wins only when the majority of the voters are either indifferent or discouraged, and so our main immediate job is to make certain that voters in all parts of the country recognize the importance of going to the polls in this critical election.

The death of Franklin D. Roosevelt gave reaction its opportunity, and it grabbed that opportunity. We progressives can beat the reactionaries only if we show them that the American people are willing and eager to defy their attempt to control both the Republican and Democratic Parties.

The CIO-PAC program is truly the people's program. It supports measures which benefit the entire community. That program is based solidly on Franklin D. Roosevelt's Economic Bill of Rights. The people's program calls for adequate price controls to keep down the ever increasing cost of living and prevent runaway inflation. It calls for an adequate housing program for veterans and all other workers. It calls for minimum wages for workers of both sexes. It calls for protection of minorities against discrimination in both industrial and political life. It calls for safeguards against unem-

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ployment and for policies geared to the goal of continuous full employment and full production. It calls for a foreign policy that will ensure peace and security and prevent friction and war. It is on this program, and with candidates pledged to carry it out, that we must fight the reactionary coalition in Congress.

To date our accomplishments have been encouraging. In the primaries we succeeded in defeating five reactionary Senators and 15 reactionary Representatives. These defeats decided a number of other congressmen not to run again in 1946.

Organize to Fight Reaction!

There is some agitation in progressive circles for a third party. We do not believe that our democracy is necessarily a two-party system. In the early days of the republic we had Federalists and Republican-Democrats. The Republican-Democrats became the present Democratic Party. The Federalists disappeared from American public life because they had nothing to offer an essentially progressive nation. The Whigs, the Know-Nothings, the Populists, the Socialists and the Progressive Party all had their heyday and their influence on American politics. The present Republican Party was once a third party itself. Because we have had two major parties in power for so long, it does not necessarily follow that the political realignments may not change in the future. But we must be practical. The question of a third party is not the issue in 1946. The issue this year is the election of a progressive Congress.

The agitation for a third party comes from understandable disgust on the part of all thoughtful progressives with the Republican-poll-tax coalition of the North and the South which dominated the last Congress and dominates the Administration today. That reactionary coalition defines our job for us: effective, independent political action such as we outlined in the program of action at the recent Chicago Conference of Progressives of the CIO-PAC, the NCPAC and their allies. This progressive alliance consists of labor, foreign-language and Negro groups, of religious, educational, youth and all other independent groups. The Negro people, particularly, have showed increasing interest in political action. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which was represented at our Chicago convention, is 500,000 strong and has set up machinery for political action for the first time in its history. Six hundred thousand Negroes voted in the South in the recent primaries. By 1948 it is expected that one million Negroes will be eligible to vote, even under the present poll-tax restrictions, due to the work now being carried on in the South. And if the drive to root out the poll tax succeeds—and we intend to intensify our efforts—then the progressive cause will be even further advanced.

There are signs that a political realignment is taking place in the South similar to the previous realignments which resulted in the birth of new parties and the death of outworn parties. Our successful work in the Southern primaries was striking evidence that this new alignment is taking place and that the reactionaries who have traded so long on the one-party system in that region can be defeated in their own strongholds.

The PAC believes in independent political action and we do not consider ourselves a "kite" to any political party. We will support progressive candidates in both parties in all elections. However, in 1946 the main forces of reaction are behind the Republican Party and it is against them that we must mobilize. The old-guard Republicans in alliance with reactionary Democrats have now mapped a campaign to destroy all price controls. Using the technique Dewey used unsuccessfully in 1944, they cry "communism and confusion." The success of this and future campaigns rests on organization. This is the real meaning of the Chicago conference, the determination of America's progressives to organize the people for progressive political action. The Chicago conference called for half a million active workers in the nation's 125,000 precincts to get the millions of voters to the polls on November 5. We are building the ward and precinct organization which will give us the "grass-roots" activity to carry the Roosevelt program to the voters. Only through such organization can we hope to influence the decisions of both political parties or be ready to follow whatever course of action the future may find proper.

Learning a lesson from the past, we are determined to keep and strengthen our coalition after the 1946 elections. This is important, for too often progressives have been aroused at election time only to doze off in the succeeding months. The reactionary coalition never rests. It is up to us to match their interest and alertness.

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Sap Time

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The Judgment at Nuremberg

by Thomas L. Karsten and James H. Mathias

THE JUDGMENT AND VERDICT in the greatest murder trial in history have at last been handed down. Whether we are satisfied with the acquittal of three and the imprisonment of seven, all of whom were intimately associated with a murderous regime, depends in large measure on whether we view the trial as a political expedient or as a judicial proceeding. If it was intended that the court be the instrumentality for enforcing the political decision of the four great powers that the accused be punished, the court might have taken the position that knowledge of the plan to wage aggressive war should be imputed to persons intimately associated with the Nazi regime, and similarly that association with such a regime was enough to taint the defendants with guilt. If this was the purpose of the trial, all of the defendants should have been convicted of the crimes with which they were charged and sentenced to death. Instead, the court by its decision has clearly indicated that it conducted a judicial proceeding to determine whether the defendants and the organizations alleged to be criminal were guilty as charged on the evidence presented.

There are those who will say that these are but judicial trappings to conceal a political decision and that the acquittals are the necessary window-dressing. Having participated in the prosecution, we can unequivocally state that this view does not square with the facts. In the preparation of the case, most of us were seriously concerned that the evidence against Schacht, von Papen and Fritzsche might prove insufficient. As the trial proceeded, it became apparent from the attitude of the court that to convict any of the accused, we as prosecutors would have to marshal evidence so preponderant as to leave no reasonable doubt in the minds of the judges that the defendants were guilty of the specific crimes with which they were charged. This is not to say that members of the prosecution staff do not disagree with some aspects of the judgment. Mr. Justice Jackson has already expressed his dissatisfaction with the acquittal of Schacht and von Papen. But dissatisfaction with a court's interpretation of the evidence is as commonplace as a judicial decision.

Is the trial *ex-post-facto*, as charged by some, and for this reason vengeance rather than justice? Those who say that no law prohibited the acts of the defendants when committed overlook the nature of international law. The law of nations derives from treaty and custom rather than from the acts of legislatures, and only rarely from decisions of courts. In the years following 1919 there developed the rule that a war of aggression was illegal. This rule or custom was evidenced, among other things, by the Kellogg-Briand Pact outlawing war, to which Germany was the first signatory. All that remained for this court to do was to punish the individuals who violated the rule.

Under the charter establishing it, the tribunal was authorized to try these defendants for participating in a common plan to wage aggressive war and for the commission of war crimes and crimes against humanity arising from the common plan. Viewed judicially, the court was thus powerless to condemn a defendant merely because he was high in the Nazi hierarchy or merely because he was by our standards an evil man.

We may quarrel with the limitations imposed upon the court, but we must judge the verdict in the light of these limitations. So judged, what has been accomplished? First and foremost, a great moral principle has been judicially established—the principle that the planning and waging of aggressive war is the greatest crime known to mankind and that those guilty of perpetrating it shall be punished. Hardly less important than the principle itself is the recognition implicit in its establishment that national sovereignty is no longer a shield behind which aggressors may take refuge.

Does the establishment of this moral principle mean that no nation will ever again wage a war of aggression? Obviously not. But at the same time we must not underestimate the inhibiting force of such a principle. If we as individuals do not rape, murder and rob, it is not alone because there are laws which prohibit such conduct but because the inherent immorality of the acts has become as strong an inhibiting factor as the fear of punishment. Similarly on an international level, if there are to be inhibiting factors in the conduct of the leaders of nations it must be in part because the community of mankind has declared certain conduct contrary to the conscience of mankind.

We doubt that inhibiting factors engendered by this enunciation of moral principle can be adequate safeguard against the lawless use of atomic warfare. The principle must be implemented by the nations of the world acting in concert under the aegis of a strong international organization having adequate power to deal with potential aggressors. Unless this is done the advances made at Nuremberg will be illusory and mankind may again stand on the brink of self-destruction.

Thomas L. Karsten, former Executive Assistant to Undersecretary of the Interior Abe Fortas, was a member of the prosecuting staff at Nuremberg.

James H. Mathias also served on Jackson's staff.

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Behind American Action, Inc.

by John Roy Carlson

THE RESURGENCE of the America First Committee is not news to those reporters who, since V-J Day, have watched the flowering of isolationist elements into a nationalist political force. Coincident with their resurgence has been a determined effort to draw World War I and II veterans into the political scene, thereby draining the cup of "Americanism" to its last drop. The dream has been tentatively realized in the formation of American Action, Inc. Its immediate objectives include the purging this November of some 187 congressmen who are said to "have been voting largely as minority radical groups dictate." But American Action, Inc., is only a dress rehearsal for a major nationalist-isolationist drive to gain the balance of power for "America Firsters" in the 1948 elections.

Behind the scenes of the new group is a collection of Father Coughlin adherents, Franco sympathizers, "Texas Regulars," who in 1944 opposed the renomination of FDR, and turncoat Democrats. The threads run into the advisory committee of Frank Gannett's Committee for Constitutional Government and the "American National Democratic Committee," whose last bid to fame was in 1944 when its constituents in the South supported the Dewey-Bricker ticket. A violent Negro-baiting campaign was one of its major indignities. The advocacy of what they called "Jeffersonian democracy" was another of its perversions.

American Action, Inc., was actually born in a large suite in Chicago's Palmer House on July 30 and 31, 1945, when more than thirty men met in solemn conclave to determine the destinies of the republic. The group, according to the findings of Eugene Segal, writing in the Cleveland *Press* of February 25, 1945, included such individuals as John T. Flynn, former New York chairman of the America First Committee whose talents throughout the war were largely devoted to "proving" that the New Deal and Roosevelt caused Pearl Harbor.

Present was Samuel B. Pettengill, publicist for the Committee for Constitutional Government, an ex-Democratic Representative from Indiana whose sympathies since his exit from Congress have been noticeably with the Republicans. William H. Regnery, former Chicago America Firster, board chairman of the Central National Bank and former treasurer of the Citizens' USA Committee, an outfit whose meetings were frequented by most of Chicago's extreme nationalist hate-mongers, was there, together with Merwin K. Hart. Hart was a founder of the America First Committee and a Franco apologist. Thomas N. Creigh, head of the Chicago branch of Hart's National Economic Council, with headquarters in the Empire State Building, and a speaker at the Citizens' USA Committee, was also present.

Upton Close took a leading part in the proceedings, sharing honors with Hart and Flynn. (The National Economic Council now sponsors Close's radio program.) According to Segal, the meeting was arranged by one Salem Bader, Palestinian-born (of British-French-German parents) citizen who since his naturalization has published tracts hostile to Jews and Zionism and has advertised his poison wares in *Women's Voice*, organ of the Jew-baiting We, the Mothers of Chicago. Nearly $300,000 was pledged to fight for "Americanism" against the CIO-PAC, it was reported.

Subsequent to the Chicago organizational meeting the America Firsters and their pals met in New York and again in Chicago. Additional funds were pledged until the imposing total of $1 million was reported. I regard this figure as highly excessive. Although all meetings and conferences were highly secret, news somehow managed to reach undercover reporters.

During its sub-rosa phase, the group was incorporated in Delaware. The certificate of incorporation was issued on January 8, 1946, and the incorporators were listed as C. S. Peabbles, L. H. Herman and S. M. Brown, all of Wilmington. The objectives of American action, Inc., were defined, in part, as follows:

> To investigate, study and analyze all laws, proposed legislation and political, economic, social and administrative processes, procedure and actions affecting sound constitutional government and established American democratic institutions and way of life; . . . to promote methods and means to support and defend constitutional government in America and especially to give all lawful support to public officials and candidates for public office who believe that the American constitutional system of government should be maintained.

The names of its Chicago founders have been scrupulously omitted in all public declarations. It was explained that this was done in an effort to prevent "smearing"—*i. e.*, telling the truth on the background of such men as Hart, Flynn, Close, *et al.* In the spring of 1946 the American Action issued a 12-page folder (which is never distributed publicly) soliciting funds in "any amount up to $5,000." Listed as officers were Harold N. Moore, Los Angeles merchandising execu-

John Roy Carlson is the author of Undercover, *the recent best-seller exposing pro-fascist groups in America.*

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tive; James H. Gipson, president of Caxton Publishers, Caldwell, Idaho; Colonel Edward D. Gray, reserve officer of the Army Air Forces; James E. McDonald, State Commissioner of Agriculture, Austin, Texas; Malcolm McDermott, professor of law at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

The intrusion of McDonald and McDermott opens another avenue of investigation. McDonald was not only a ringleader in the "Texas Regulars'" revolt in 1944, but he was also national committeeman of the "American National Democratic Committee," and was listed as vice-president of the "Jeffersonian Democrats of California—Dewey and Bricker in 1944." As for McDermott, he not only served on the Southern counterpart of the National Committee, but he is also listed on the advisory board of the Committee for Constitutional Government. McDermott wrote me in 1944 and offered to send me Frank Gannett's literature.

The Men Behind the Scenes

Lifting the third veil of secrecy reveals still another unpublicized layer of nationalists. These provide the final link between American Action, Inc., and the founders and promoters of the "American National Democratic Committee."

The clue is the fact that Robert M. Harriss is one of the men behind American Action, Inc. The information was divulged inadvertently in a letter written by Colonel Gray to a correspondent. Gray urged the correspondent to call on Harriss, an old-time, ardent supporter of Father Coughlin; his name has appeared in the news whenever the hierarchy of the Christian Front has been publicized or Father Coughlin's supporters mentioned. In 1944 Harriss was investigated by the Special Committee to Investigate Presidential, Vice-Presidential and Senatorial Campaign Expenditures, and admitted contributing at least $3,500.

Harriss was one of the founders of the "American National Democratic Committee" together with, among others, William J. Goodwin. Goodwin was a candidate for office of the American Rock Party, which was initiated by Father Coughlin himself just before Pearl Harbor. Goodwin has been affiliated with Coughlinite circles since 1936, when he was a candidate on Coughlin's National Union for Social Justice ticket. Goodwin is out of the current picture, but Harriss' persistent appearance in the role of a behind-the-scenes manipulator gives credence to the belief that the story of American Action, Inc., has not been fully probed by any congressional committee. Who are the men behind Harriss, and who is behind his political adventures?

The "American National Democratic Committee" met in "patriotic" convention on June 19-20, 1944. The speakers included former Representative John J. O'Connor, who now edits a monthly dope sheet, *Washington Digest*; Senator Wilbur Lee O'Daniel, another pro-Republican official nominally elected under the banner of the Democratic Party; and Governor-elect Eugene Talmadge of Georgia.

Upon pressure by Congress, the committee filed a report of its donors of $100 or more. It could not account for $2,000 which was listed as having been received anonymously, "in the form of two $1,000 bills" by Harry Woodring, former Secretary of War and a bigwig in the committee's fruitless anti-New Deal drive.

Newcomers to the American Action scene are Bob Christenberry of the Hotel Astor, New York, and Sam Welldon, of the First National Bank, in New York. Both were recommended by Gray to his anonymous correspondent. The entry of General Robert E. Wood, former national chairman of the America First Committee, as an integral part of American Action, Inc., confirms the view that nationalists and isolationists can again count on the support of those who backed the America First Committee. Wood himself has admitted in a letter: "I am contributing a substantial amount to the movement and hope you will join me in contributing whatever you wish. Check should be payable to stocks transferred to W. Homer Hartz, treasurer." Wood also gave $1,432.73 to the "American National Democratic Committee" in 1944.

Front man for American Action is a former national commander of the American Legion, Captain Edward A. Hayes of Chicago, naval veteran of World War I and II. Although his office is supposed to be at the Board of Trade Building, he is seldom there. When I called, I was referred to a certain address on South LaSalle Street. According to Colonel Gray, the captain's job is to organize nationalists in marginal congressional districts in order to make the purge effective. Among the purgees listed is Representative Andrew J. Biemiller of the Fifth District, Milwaukee. Republican leader Lansing Hoyt of Milwaukee has announced that American Action will be used in the campaign against Biemiller and Howard J. McMurray, progressive Democratic senatorial candidate from Wisconsin.

A Job for the House Committee

American Action, Inc., though abortive in its initial attempts, is "big-league stuff." Its clandestine meetings, its undercover tactics up to last week, have cast suspicion on the motives of the group. What has it to hide? Who are its backers other than those already reported? Included in the list are said to be Colonel Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the Chicago *Tribune;* Ernest T. Weir, chairman of the board of Weirton Steel; Lammot duPont, director of E. I. duPont de Nemours.

The House Campaign Expenditures Committee can render a valuable service to the nation by thoroughly exposing the agents of "big business" dipping their hands into politics. Voters have a right to know who the propagandists are and why they are conspiring in such secrecy.

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Hollywood and Vine

MATTHEW WOLL'S recent Red-baiting blast against James Cagney, Myrna Loy, Edward G. Robinson, Orson Welles and others received slightly more attention than Hollywood usually gives such attacks. Woll is a vice-president of the AFL, and all those he accused of conniving with Moscow are AFL members. The attack was especially virulent. It was also implemented by the threat of picket lines around movie theatres exhibiting pictures written, directed, produced or enacted by persons deemed subversive by Woll or his powerful press protagonist, William Randolph Hearst.

Local newspapers gave the story some prominence. The *Reporter*, show-business trade paper allergic to social significance, played it up. Daily *Variety* ignored it. Myrna Loy, Orson Welles and a couple of others talked of libel suits. James Cagney said, "It's ridiculous. Woll is just trying to make himself a big fellow at other people's expense." Then the story died.

Hollywood is like that. It looks upon witch-hunters with the same tolerant weariness it has for lion-hunters and autograph-hunters. It sees so many of them. It understands their motives—easy publicity and the cheap thrill that come from association with glamor on any terms.

Maybe the movie makers are a little too bored, sophisticated and sure of themselves in the face of an attack that seems cumulative in its intensity. Hearst, Martin Dies, John Rankin, the Catholic hierarchy, W. R. Wilkerson, Gerald L. K. Smith, Matthew Woll—they all beat the same tom-tom tune, with only an occasional variation in which the Jews in Hollywood are lumped with the Reds. A pattern emerges. There are real Communists in Hollywood—there are even some real Republicans. But the genuine Reds are almost never attacked. They are too obscure to pay off in publicity values. So the witch-hunt victims are usually big-name people who dare to use their prestige and money in behalf of causes not favored in the columns of the Los Angeles *Examiner* or Chicago *Tribune*.

Of late the fury and tempo of this sort of thing have increased. The campaign has coincided with the Hearstian and Youth for Christ anti-book drive. Emmet Lavery, president of the Screen Writers' Guild, answers it in an open letter. He writes: "We have learned the lesson of *not* to be divided and *not* to be conquered. We have learned the lesson of fighting first things first and not being sidetracked by secondary issues. And the ever recurring 'Red' scare in Hollywood is a secondary issue today just as it was when Hitler squared off against the labor unions of Germany."

There are signs that Hollywood is dropping its bored tolerance of witch-hunts and is ceasing to find solace in the amusing memory that Martin Dies, after a rip-roaring Red scare, came forth with Shirley Temple, then aged 11, as Hollywood's most dangerous Red.

Hollywood, California S. V. R.

Radio: Split Personality

SINCE HE IS ONLY about 25 years old, has more money than he knows what to do with, and is torn between the desire to earn the community's respect as an artist and to win the community's buying power as a salesman, Mr. Radio has personality difficulties.

A look into his wardrobe will tell you a lot about them. In addition to the skeletons, there is the bright checkered clown-salesman suit, the striped-pants outfit for cultural occasions and the black suit with the stiff-collared white shirt for wearing on Sundays. A personality made up of zoot suits, pretentiousness and puritanism is the result, with radio trying to be all things to all people.

For years radio executives have put on their striped pants to go into solemn sessions with the intention of "building a prestige program." Commercially successful, radio people must constantly recharge the batteries of their egos, with a nod to culture, even though they know that it is the clown who gets the high Hooper ratings and brings in the cash.

The black suit and stiff white collar take the form of the severe censorship in the continuity-acceptance departments of stations and networks. There every word of a script is scanned for innuendo, and the lyrics of popular songs are screened for possible double meanings. The general rule regarding speeches, no matter who the speaker, is that scripts must be submitted 48 hours in advance.

Yet radio, as the jolly clown with free cigars and something to sell, allows the freedom of the air to anyone at all on the audience-participation shows. The result is an incident like the one on NBC's "Honeymoon in New York" recently, when a smoking-room story inadvertently was broadcast into the living rooms of the nation's families. You also find Mr. Salesman Radio shoving a microphone in front of Tami Mauriello, after he had been knocked cold by Joe Louis three minutes before, to say to 30 million people, "I got too goddam careless." Yet radio, considering the total effect on its followers, is forced to use the audience shows as a bulwark against pompousness, so you hear "Information Please" and strictly censored scripts all in the same evening.

Young, split and confused as it is, there are encouraging signs that radio is beginning to grow into some sort of maturity. A recent one is the arrival of Henry Morgan on a national network—ABC. Morgan joins Fred Allen as a prime satirist of radio's backslidings and fumblings. For years Allen has had a character called the NBC vice-president in charge of "Uh, uh, you can't say that." Morgan once delivered a commercial for a sport-shoe manufacturer, and added that "he wouldn't be found dead" in the shoes. The sponsor objected, and Morgan bounced back to the mike to state positively that yes, he certainly *would* be found dead in them.

You have to be adult to take kidding in your stride. You also have to be important, or no one would bother to kid you. TED COTT

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Letter from Sweden—Liberty v. Security

THE OTHER DAY the Social Democrats told me how an important iron works near the ore fields was flourishing under state management. Yesterday a Communist newspaper carried a story about the commercialized pleasure industry: how youth was swindled out of so much money per year; in Stockholm dancing tickets cost twice or three times as much as at the municipally owned pleasure grounds of Gothenburg. Today a leaflet was slid into my letter-box by the Taxpayers' Association. It is headed "The Boy and the Bicyle." The author, a working boy who made good and became a leading industrialist, so we are told, sketched a parable about a father who had a number of sons. The bright boy of the family made more money than his brothers and bought himself a bicycle. The father (*i. e.*, the state) said that was all wrong. He should have bought a sewing machine to benefit the entire family. Do you think the wide-awake son would go on trying to make more money if the father took such a short-sighted view, handing the family a momentary gain and killing the bright lad's initiative?

This no doubt was meant to be one in the eye for socialization. It seems to me that the industrialist chose a rather unhappy parallel. I doubt if there is a single family where a bicycle would come before a sewing machine; not at least in Sweden. The author declared that he was not interested in politics; he left that to the theorists. He himself was a *realist*, and he knew that experiments wasted lots of money, taxpayers' money. . . .

However I, too, find that I have a little parable to offer. It is about what I might call the polarity of liberty and security. I would like to use the well worn imagery of the baby and his mother. First we see the baby running away from the mother (toward liberty) and then when he begins to feel things aren't looking too good, he turns back (toward security). So with social-political organization. It appears when you get enough chaos you will pay any price for order. When you've got order, you look round and think about starting the game of hide-and-seek again.

How Much Socialization?

Where does Sweden stand in this magnetic field? If you pile the social checks and economic controls into the balance, it looks as if security is weighing down liberty. At least judging by the election slogans of the People's Party (which represents liberal-progressive opinion), this would be the case. Their propaganda demands more liberty, while the Social Democratic line is heading for greater security.

Let us try to assess the degree of socialization which we now have in Sweden, because socialization is but the exterior mechanics for achieving security. Recently a Social Democratic municipal leader put the figure at between 30 to 40-percent socialization against 60 to 70-percent private enterprise. I do not know how he arrived at these figures. Who would take the local water supply or the army as a socialized service? But they are, of course, just as are the telephone, telegraph and postal services.

The first bone of contention is reached when we come to the railroads. The majority of the lines are state-operated, and national policy looks toward the nationalization of all railroads. The main lines, with one exception which is municipally controlled (by the cities between which it runs), belong to the state system. At the moment there is lively discussion regarding this line. The state wishes to incorporate it. The municipalities do not. Here the issue touches one of the sensitive areas of socialization: the evil of overcentralization. The pros and cons regarding incorporation of this line into the state system appear, at least to an outside observer, to cancel one another out; rates will no doubt be lowered, some salaries increased, but in a number of cases both the public and the employees will apparently be adversely affected.

Industry, Utilities and Education

Wines, spirits and tobacco are controlled by two state monopolies. Beet-sugar refining is a semi-state monopoly. There is a degree of socialization in armament and aircraft production, forestry and wood-pulp conversion. The majority of industrial production is carried on by private enterprise, although the coöperative production of footwear, furniture, tires, galoshes and electric lamps is of importance. The latter two items are especially significant, because international cartel prices have been successfully smashed in these fields. The coöperatives play an important role in housing schemes, distribution to consumers, restaurants, dairies and slaughter-houses. However, it would be wrong to bracket these non-private-enterprise activities with socialization in its present-day connotation, because in the view of the leading coöperator, Albin Johansson, "all monopolies encourage stupidity," and the state is to be regarded as the largest monopoly.

To our list may be added the majority of hydroelectric stations and a certain amount of municipal building programs (the actual work being carried out by private contractors); the radio is a state organ, and so are the two universities, while a number of laboratories and theatres may be regarded as socialized. It should be noted that there is no collective agriculture in Sweden, with the exception of a single experimental collective cow-house, sponsored by the coöperatives and aided by a state grant.

Education and the social services are largely socialized. Private nursing-homes and private schools are extremely rare. Free dental care for children is rapidly spreading, as is home help (*i. e.*, emergency domestic help for—in the first instance—rural families). Hospitalization, which is socialized, is partly subsidized, partly paid for by patients' Friendly Society insurance. There is no unified social security in the sense understood in New Zealand or contained in the Beveridge plan. Pensions will be increased in 1948 so that it will be possible to live on them.

Perhaps a special note should be made regarding the position of education. Democratically speaking, the situation is most unfavorable. It is probable that the difficulties

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for the underprivileged to enter higher educational establishments will rapidly be changed. However, a remarkable degree of the Prussian heritage of exaggerated respect for authority clings to both schoolroom and college and seeps through into all social relationships, reinforcing the psychological core upon which bureaucracy is built. Without an inner change in the teacher-pupil relationship from the first grade upwards, the onslaught against bureaucracy will be ineffectual.

So much for the existing socialized services. What then of the future? The Social Democrats, who now have a clear majority in the Riksdag, are investigating the possibility of gradually effecting a foreign-trade monopoly. At the moment a Riksdag committee is studying the question of socializing the insurance business. It is claimed that something like 100 directors' fees are paid instead of a single one. However, I wonder if the 99 directors who will lose their jobs in the event of their business being socialized will not turn up as important civil servants in a State Insurance Trust. These good men tell the public that it will be the end of personal service. The doctors, said a leading psychologist recently, should act as confessors, not simply as mechanics who examine living bodies. This seems to be a truism; but why should personal service be incompatible with socialized employment?

The Liberal Dilemma

Some years ago Professor Tingsten, the political scientist, was given the task by the working-class movement to write the history of the Swedish Social Democratic Party. During his research for this work, he moved away from socialism and today reckons himself as a liberal. He said in a political debate the other day that during the past fifty years he has found a terrific confusion in socialistic theory. Even the inner political circles had no idea where their line was leading them. The movement away from Leninism in Russia and the attitude of the Social Democrats in Sweden during the Second World War were the other two factors which led him to change his position. In other words, Tingsten believes that it is impossible to see clearly where socialization will take us, that according to evidence from the East, it leads away from freedom, and that he has no confidence in the present Socialist leaders in Sweden.

The liberals are drawn largely from the professional classes. They have security and fear the loss of liberty. The Social Democrats are drawn largely from the working classes, fear loss of security and do not regard liberty so highly. Those dissatisfied with the present government but who want more security will no doubt vote with the Communists. The Peasant Party stands apart, protecting the interests of the farmers. The Conservative Party protects the interests of the wealthy. The result of the municipal and provincial elections on September 15 was a gain for the liberal People's Party and a loss for the Social Democrats. However, the latter remains, by a wide margin, the largest party in the country. The Conservatives lost and the Communists gained. Personally, I find the choice between liberty and security somewhat illusory, because within the framework of national sovereignty the polarity of liberty and security is massively overshadowed by the threat of war, war which destroys both.

Filipstad, Sweden HAROLD LOWENSTEIN

O'Neill and Rostand

The Iceman Cometh, by Eugene O'Neill. Martin Beck Theatre, October 9, 1946.
Cyrano de Bergerac, translated from Rostand by Brian Hooker. Alvin Theatre, October 8, 1946.

"THE ICEMAN COMETH" marks the return of Eugene O'Neill to Broadway after an absence of twelve years. The performance of the play runs into two sessions, of about an hour and a quarter before the dinner intermission, and two and three-quarters after. The Theatre Guild, by its own lights, has brought the highest intentions to its production, a large company mostly of experienced actors, plus the décor by Robert Edmond Jones and the directing by Eddie Dowling.

The scene of "The Iceman Cometh" is Harry Hope's, a saloon with a back room curtained off, which can pass as a restaurant and run Sundays as well as week days, and with lodgers upstairs, which turns it into a Raines Law hotel that can stay open night and day. Among the guests are a former Harvard man; a one-time editor of Anarchist periodicals; a one-time police lieutenant; a Negro, one-time proprietor of a Negro gambling house; a one-time leader of a Boer commando; a one-time Boer War correspondent; a one-time captain of British infantry; a one-time Anarchist; a one-time circus man; a young man from the West Coast, who has squealed on his Anarchist mother; a hardware salesman; the day and night bartenders; and three tarts. They have, the majority of them, fallen from what they once were and live in a kind of whiskey-sodden dream of getting back: tomorrow will make everything right. The first session of "The Iceman Cometh"—absorbing and in the early O'Neill manner—is taken up with the revelation of the various characters as they wait for the arrival of Hickey, the hardware salesman, who joins them every year at this time to celebrate Harry's birthday with a big drunk. Hickey arrives, greets them with the old affection and surprises them with the announcement that he has left off drink and that he has come to save them not from booze but from pipe-dreams. It is these, he says, that poison and ruin a guy's life and keep him from finding any peace; he is free and contented now, like a new man, all you need is honesty with yourself, to stop lying about yourself and kidding yourself about tomorrow. He hands out a $10 bill to start the party and falls asleep from fatigue.

In the next act Hickey's effect is seen. Harry must go out on the street for the first time in twenty years and see his friends in the ward about the alderman's post they had once offered him; the short-change expert must go back to the circus; the various others back to their old positions in life; the day bartender and one of the tarts must go on and marry instead of always talking about it, et cetera. But now the friendly backwater of sots and wrecks and whores turns into hate, violent rows and imminent fights. Hickey gets them all out, one by one; he knows they will come back again, beaten but free of their pipe-dreams, and so will find peace. They all return, everything has gone wrong, even the whiskey has lost its kick. Hickey, who has confessed to killing his beloved and loving wife, to free her and free himself from a torturing pipe-dream of his

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reform, turns out to be insane, and this at last, and this only, frees them. All but two, for whom death is the end, go back to their dreams, somewhat gloriously, and the whiskey works again.

Eddie Dowling has directed "The Iceman Cometh" in his by now well known style. His is a method sure to be admired: it consists largely in a certain smooth security, an effect of competence, of keeping things professional and steady, and often of doing pretty much nothing at all. To this he adds in "The Iceman Cometh" a considerable degree of stylized performance, actors sitting motionless while another character or other groups take the stage. Since there is a good deal of stylization in the structure of "The Iceman Cometh," this may well be justified. But in my opinion the usual Dowling method brought to the directing of this O'Neill play would gain greatly by more pressure, more intensity and a far darker and richer texture.

The same remark applies to the acting. It is a relief to see so many expert actors instead of the usual run of technically indifferent players we so often get on Broadway nowadays. The three actresses who have the tart roles belong, alas, to this latter indifferent rank; otherwise the acting is notable for its excellence, especially E. G. Marshall, Nicholas Joy, Frank Tweddel, Carl Benton Reid and Russell Collins, plus fair enough performances by Paul Crabtree, John Morriott and Tom Pedi. James Barton as Hickey, a most central character in the entire motivation and movement of the play, plays the part very much, I should imagine, as Eddie Dowling would have played it, judging from his performance in "The Glass Menagerie" and elsewhere, and from his directing. Which means a sort of playing that is competent, wholly at ease and with a something that appears to settle the matter, to close the subject as it were, so that for the moment at least you are prevented from thinking of anything else that could be done about it. Only afterward do you keep realizing what might have been there and was not. Russell Collins could have played the role of Hickey with much more inner concentration, depth, projection and unbroken emotional fluency.

It was these qualities that appeared in Dudley Digges's performance. His Harry, the proprietor, was on a different plane from every other to be seen on the stage at the Martin Beck. It was exact, with the exactness that belongs to all fine art; and full of the constant surprise that appears in all first-rate art whatever, as it does in whatever is alive in our life. It was beautiful, luminous, filled with the witty and the poetic together mingled. 'Twere to consider too curiously to consider so, as Horatio says, and most unfair, perhaps, to wonder what would happen to "The Iceman Cometh" if more of the players could do the same by it. But that would imply no doubt a condition equal to that of the Moscow Art Theatre in Gorky's "The Lower Depths." How much the play could be cut or not cut then would remain to be seen. As "The Iceman Cometh" now stands, it is a remarkable play but could certainly be cut.

Robert Edmond Jones's setting for "The Iceman Cometh" seems to me one of those impalpable evocations of his in the medium of décor, austere, elegant and elusively poetic, and uncannily right for the realistic-poetic quality of this O'Neill drama. It suggests, too, the same passionate undercurrent of feeling that lies within the play throughout. Johnson), who has a twitchy manner and a starved face,

"Cyrano de Bergerac" is such an old subject by now that there is no need for a discussion of it here. But it is very important indeed to say that for a young actor like José Ferrer to make the venture of its presentation at this time is a fine and distinguished gesture that cannot be praised too highly. The production given the piece is extensive and very generous to its manifold requirements. Lemuel Ayres's settings have a lot of the decorative profuseness that is needed; they have taste and admirable color. The backdrops especially, skies and far-off city walls, are capital. The costumes are well designed and are correct enough historically, especially since the date of play's events is largely arbitrary, Rostand having with small ado scrapped history for romance. For example, Ragueneau, the poet pastry cook, was dead and Cyrano de Bergerac was dead before Molière came back from the provinces to Paris, and Cyrano had been dead sixteen years when Molière used that scene of his which is mentioned toward the last in Rostand's play. These costumes for "Cyrano de Bergerac," however, though well designed, are not well made. They are sloppily cut; they are cut not from some basic relation to the body, as were the clothes meant to be reproduced, but from the outside in.

The Roxanne of Frances Reid has many lovely qualities; it can wisely move toward the more formal in style, as can her somewhat casual hair-do. The Ragueneau of Hiram Sherman is uncommonly witty and right. José Ferrer's Cyrano shines with wit, a Gallic element that is often absent from portrayals of this and kindred roles. I must commend the physical skill of this Cyrano, his dexterity and variety and mental passion. The main suggestion I should make would be that after the first act he use more of the richer side of his voice and so increase the lyric effect intended. I would also suggest a further shortening of the play by a good many minutes. This would be wholly legitimate, since a speech in French, with its lack of any strong tonic accent, can be rendered in about two-thirds the time the same speech would take in English—I have timed this at the Théâtre Français itself. The time a speech takes is almost as much a part of it as the words.

STARK YOUNG

Middle-Aged Fling

THE MOST POIGNANT MOVIE in recent months is a bleak, inactive item called "Brief Encounter," which deals sensitively and decorously with the extra-marital transgression of two solidly married people. This Noel Coward production could have become soap opera at its worst; instead it is a faithful record of an aborted infidelity occurring between two extremely proper persons. It deals, as few films do, with limp, orderly, repressed, unexciting middle-class people, and carries them through the most exciting event of their lives in a limp, orderly, repressed, unexciting way, the only way of which they would be capable. It is highly unorthodox for movies to handle colorless people and almost unheard of to leave their lives ungilded, yet it is this very naturalism that makes "Brief Encounter" a haunting work.

The lovers in this quiet film are a housewife (Celia

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and a doctor (Trevor Howard), who commute on Thursdays to a gray place called Milford Junction. One day on the Milford platform (the producers show a knowledge of railroad stations and the way people act in them that should please the most discerning railroad eye), the housewife gets in the way of a cinder, and the practitioner, in friendly commuter spirit, neatly flicks it out from under her right eyelid. During the next five Thursdays, they entertain each other with canoeing, drives in the country, movies, all of it filmed in a dull way and made as uninteresting as waiting for a street car. Then, because of the shame involved in carrying on an illicit love and because of not wanting to hurt the people involved in their marriages, they decide never to see each other again. In the tradition of the soap opera, he takes a job near the South Pole, and she, from heartbreak but very unrealistically in terms of the personality this movie would convey, comes within an ace of throwing herself under a fast express.

Each of these tepidly warm, melancholy, woodenish lovers is portrayed with unusual insight. The woman, who is not only very proper but a nervous, flighty person, moves through the affair reluctantly, allowing herself to show love in only a few instances, usually when she is away from the doctor. He, on the other hand, is less moral and acts like a very dignified wolf managing a decorous fling. The love affair and marriages of Laura and Alec possibly are made to seem a little too dreary, too much like oatmeal, giving you the feeling that the producers are overly pessimistic on the subject of middle-class love.

This Noel Coward production centers on Laura's actions and morality—the affair is seen mostly through her eyes—and it gets inside of her intuitively. The whole movie takes on the quality of sensitive, dignified femininity. The film sometimes suggests women's magazine fiction, but Celia Johnson's performance, in which she uses a clammy hairdo, little makeup, looks overworked, somewhat undone and all-a-twitter, takes it way out of the *Ladies Home Journal* class. You only get snatches here and there of a sensitive, highly intelligent, aristocratic actress rather than a genuine housewife. She is excellent most of the time, whether appearing airy and energetic in the manner of a wife on her day off, or looking sick and shrunken after her last meeting with Alec, or ruminating happily in a daycoach in a somewhat sheepish, self-conscious way. She has a wonderful, graceful, strong walk.

While Coward's production is sensitive, it is somewhat barren, sketchy, and tends to run to the spareness of current restaurant menus. These defects are not present in the station scenes—where the lovers rush to meet trains, look for each other, walk thoughtfully up and down the platform, give their tickets to a gateman who has seen them a thousand times and yet doesn't recognize them—every detail being accurate, richly defined and extremely exciting.

While the lovers are portrayed naturalistically, secondary characters are drawn unpleasantly with banal, snobbish touches. The refined ostrich (Joyce Carey) who runs the sooty lunchroom shows the pleasure she got from a date in a funny way, but she seems as stereotyped and grotesque as a five-tier wedding cake. The wife's husband, who looks as if he has a passion for all-day lollypops, seems toylike.

MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

House investigators were told today it cost the War Assets Administration $9.4 million in agents' fees and commissions to sell for $29 million surplus radios and telephone equipment which originally cost the government $97.5 million. – *UP dispatch from Washington.*

"But I'll tell you one thing for certain. I won't have anything to do with that fellow Stassen. He is no Republican, never was, and the same thing goes for Tom Dewey. He's no American; he's a New Yorker. – *Colonel Robert R. McCormick, as quoted in the New York* Times.

When Bilbo Perkins, 32, Negro sailor, reported the loss of $425 Sunday, Detectives M. M. Simpson and C. B. Shepperd exhibited mild curiosity.

"You say you're from Mississippi, and you're named Bilbo?" Simpson asked. "How is that?"

"Well, Cap'n, when I was born, that fellow Bilbo was just startin' out in politics and he sure did make a lot of noise," Perkins explained. "I hollered and cried so much when I was a baby that my folks jest natcherly named me Bilbo, too." – *From the Houston* Chronicle.

Truth in Advertising

[Industrial] designer Lippincott frankly admits that many so-called gadgets add little to the usefulness of manufactured products, but give the consumer "a reason for buying something new when the old was just as good functionally." – *Charles M. Sievert in the New York* World-Telegram.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Welcome to Wallace

[BY TELEGRAM]

SIR: Congratulations on your good fortune in getting an editor whose next job will be President of the United States. In point of wisdom, conscience and courage there is no political figure in the world today who can compare with Henry Wallace.

Remsen, N. Y. AUGUSTUS L. RICHARDS

SIR: No liberal American can afford to miss an issue of the *New Republic* now that that great humanitarian, Henry Wallace, is your editor. Put me on the mailing list quick.

Bakersfield, Calif. DANIEL HAMIS

SIR: As we think of it tonight, we would rather see Wallace on the *New Republic* than in government. Understanding in international relations, he will sound the call for a coalition government to succeed the New Deal. His appointment will add immeasurably to the influence the *New Republic* is to wield in the critical months ahead. We share with you in the satisfaction you must feel that the magazine will more than ever be a rallying point for all we and our friends stand for in domestic and international affairs.

Kitchawan, N. Y. HERBERT AND NANNETTE ROTHSCHILD

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PM and the Bomb

SIR: Just to keep the record straight on what *PM* did and did not advocate editorially with reference to the atomic bomb ("The World Does Move," by Nathan Robertson, the *New Republic*, September 30), I refer you to the three editorials by Max Lerner, in which this newspaper gave its considered editorial judgment, starting August 19, 1945. I quote the conclusion of Lerner's piece—*PM's* position—from the first of the three editorials in which we first discussed the atomic-bomb issue on that date:

I want to explore in later articles how we can work out a plan to control the atomic bomb. But here I want to suggest at least the bare outlines.

Take the scientists and military men who today know the secrets of the atomic process, and pledge them to the new United Nations Organization when it comes legally into being.

Set up a United Nations War Research Council, of which they will form part of the membership.

Give that Council monopoly power over the use of the atomic bomb and its later war developments.

Set up a United Nations Atomic Bombing Force.

Make it an express condition of joining the United Nations that the adhering nations renounce any unilateral use of the atomic bomb and related weapons.

Make it clear that the first nation trying to use it thus unilaterally will be destroyed by the United Nations Atomic Bombing Force, and that the leaders of that nation will be treated as war criminals.

In short, make the atomic bomb the world's policeman.

I am confused as to the exact point Robertson is trying to make. If it is that *PM's* position on the atomic issue at that time was either wrong, or timid, or unclear, or had to be changed, the excerpt from our editorial disproves the point.

It is refreshing to have someone admit that *PM* does not rush hastily and blindly into editorial positions—but takes two or three days, if necessary, to get its feet on the ground. We are complimented at this acknowledgment that our policies aren't the result of hurried or partial consideration

JOHN P. LEWIS,
NewYork City Managing Editor, *PM*

Popular Social Science

SIR: A new publication, *Ideas for Action*, designed to service the press of democratic-action groups such as trade unions, farmers' associations, minority defense groups and others, has been started by a group of eminent American social scientists. These include the anthropologist Gene Weltfish, the psychologist Gardner Murphy, the economists J. Raymond Walsh and Wilbert Moore and the sociologists E. Franklin Frazier and Bernhard J. Stern.

Ideas for Action will have three principal functions:

To "translate" the valid findings of social science into a usable and interesting form for those participating in democratic action.

To bring together all the many branches of social science—sociology, social psychology, psychiatry, anthropology and economics—focusing them on everyday political and social problems.

To encourage social research, the findings of which will be useful to those who are engaged in reshaping our old, and fashioning a better, society.

These articles, which are short and factual, are written by people who have specialized in the field. They may be reprinted free of charge by democratic-action newspapers and periodicals.

Ideas for Action will appear four times a year. Its editor and managing editor are, respectively, Alvin W. Gouldner and Frank Riessman Jr. The editors will accept individual subscriptions, which cost 50 cents a year. These may be obtained by writing to *Ideas for Action*, 110-34 73rd Road, Forest Hills, New York.

Writers and social scientists are invited to coöperate in the publication of *Ideas for Action*.

New York City ALVIN W. GOULDNER

Books for Germany

SIR: The undersigned were members of an official mission which had the opportunity to visit the various university centers in the American zone in Germany. Everywhere we found a great hunger for contact with the intellectual life of the outside world after years of isolation. The isolation continues partly because shortage of paper reduces the publication of books, but also partly because Germany has no foreign exchange to pay authors' royalties for translations of foreign books.

It was suggested to us by officers of the American Military Government that American authors could greatly facilitate the publication of translations in Germany if they would be willing to forgo royalties for some years. Rights should be waived for two or three years. American authors who are interested in doing this should send two copies of their books and an accompanying letter to the Information Control Division, Attention Publications Branch, OMGUS, APO 742, care Postmaster, New York, N. Y.

GEORGE F. ZOOK, American Council on Education;
T. V. SMITH, the University of Chicago;
HELEN C. WHITE, the University of Wisconsin;
REINHOLD NIEBUHR, the Union Theological Seminary

New York City

Water over the Bridge

SIR: How in all good faith can Malcolm Cowley, who lives only five miles from the bank of that river, say so pontifically that the Housatonic "never has disastrous floods"? ("Whose Housatonic," the *New Republic*, August 19.) Where, indeed, was he when that pompous Housatonic of his went on its hell-bent rampage and left hen-houses and outhouses in every back lot? And where was he when it sent Frank Chase, then New Milford's most hospitable tavern-keeper, shinnying up a tree at the west end of the New Milford bridge, there to squat from closing time until daybreak, when he was rescued by thirsty telephone workers? If the Housatonic did not "overflow its banks" then, I should very much like to know what it was doing.

Provincetown, Mass. SLATER BROWN

[The Housatonic is a well behaved river most of the time, all broken to harness like the Tennessee. Nothing less than the 1938 hurricane could give it spunk enough to run Frank Chase up a tree. – M. C.]

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Lowell R. Brook, acting director general of UNRRA, corrects our statement in "Peron's Dilemma" (the *New Republic*, August 19) that Argentina had donated no supplies to UNRRA. He says that Argentina has now delivered 150,000 tons of wheat which she pledged as a gift, and adds, "It is my understanding that the Argentine government has also made a free gift of 100,000 tons of grain to Italy."

J. Anthony Marcus of Rye, New York, who was a special agent of the US Department of Labor during the First World War, says that during his visits to plants in that capacity he found dining rooms for workers established long before the "Amo" plant mentioned in Earl Browder's article ("Everyday Life in Soviet Russia," the *New Republic*, September 2) and hence it is unlikely that we copied our factory-cafeteria system from the Russians.

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Books in Review

Magazine Business: 1910-46

DURING this mild crisis in the magazine world, when the wartime demand for any sort of printed matter is slowly dwindling; when new monthlies are folding like the tents of the Arabs and older ones are planning changes in policy to hold their readers, it might be interesting to go back over the last thirty-five years and see how American magazines reached their present situation.

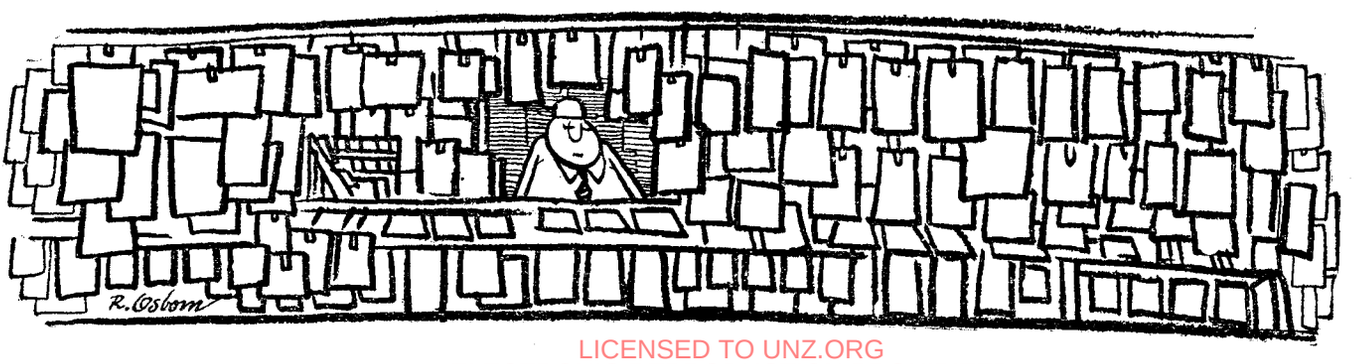
There was an earlier and greater crisis after 1910. Periodicals that seemed as fixed and predictable in their appearance as the days of the week were suddenly discarded like last year's calendars. The highest mortality was in the field of muckraking monthlies. These had achieved great circulations for the time by exposing the sins of American business, politics, churches and social life, sometimes in merely sensational attacks, but sometimes, too, in sound and well documented articles written by the ablest journalists the country had so far known; a few of them, including Lincoln Steffens, reached a higher literary level than the contemporary novelists. As for the magazines that published their work, *Everybody's*, *McClure's*, the *Cosmopolitan* and *Hampton's* all had circulations close to half a million copies a month in 1910; the *American*, controlled by the muckraking journalists themselves, had more than 300,000. Two years later they had all changed their editorial policies, the *American* was supporting the oil interests in Mexico and *Hampton's* had ceased publication —as had also the *Arena*, the *Twentieth Century*, *Success* and *Human Life*.

The explanation generally accepted at the time was that the public had lost interest in muckraking, but later statements by publishers and editors made it plain that the muckraking magazines had been ruined by their own success. They had frightened the business community, while at the same time they had expanded so rapidly that they had become dependent on advertising and bank credit. When the advertising was withdrawn, page after page, and the loans were called as if on a signal from Wall Street, they had to stop their investigations or go out of business.

The great literary monthlies also changed or disappeared, but in a more leisurely fashion. *Harper's*, *Scribner's* and the *Century*, with their elderly and by then impoverished cousins the *Atlantic* and the *North American Review*, had exercised a long dictatorship over American taste; they were the guardians of the New England tradition, which, with the fabric worn shabby and more starch to conceal it, had become the genteel tradition. In 1910 the first three still had a combined circulation of more than 500,000, but they lost half their readers during the next ten years. The *Atlantic* proved to be more flexible; it surrendered some of its literary standing and found a new public; and *Harper's* after 1920 followed a similar course. The *Century* lived on until 1930, but only as a quarterly. *Scribner's* and the *North American Review* had a miserable fate; both changed hands several times and ended (like *Little's Living Age*) after coming under control of propagandists for Axis governments.

Other famous magazines disappeared during or after the First World War. *Harper's Weekly* was among the first to go, in 1916; brilliantly written in its last years under Norman Hapgood, but deserted by advertisers, it was merged with the *Independent*, which in turn was merged with the *Outlook*, which became a monthly and ceased publication in 1935. *Current Literature*, renamed *Current Opinion*, had been the best popular record of cultural life during the immediate prewar years, but it died from anemia and lack of circulation. The *Youth's Companion*, followed from week to week by adults as well as children and once the most successful American magazine, was defeated more by slipshod accounting methods than by lack of readers; it lived until 1929. The three humorous weeklies, *Puck*, *Judge* and *Life*, starved to death on a diet of their own jokes. The *World's Work* was taken over by the *Review of Reviews*, which was taken over by the *Literary Digest*, which was laughed out of existence after its famous poll of presidential voters had revealed that Hoover would sweep the country in 1932 and Landon in 1936. The *Bookman* (like *Book Chat* and the *Book Buyer*), *St. Nicholas* (like the other established children's monthlies), the *Forum* (with all the periodicals intended to serve as open platforms for debates) . . . it was not only single magazines that perished, but whole families and groups. One after another they dwindled away, they vanished with their dignified names, leaving the field to new magazines unhampered by their own traditions.

In the commercial field, there were not many of these newcomers during the first years after 1910. What appeared were dozens of little magazines, a type of periodical that becomes important in any era when there is a gulf between the tastes of the broad public and the aims of



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serious writers. The little magazines of the teens and twenties gave their first hearing to a whole rebel generation of poets and novelists. With only a few readers, they struggled one after another through their usually brief span of publication, but meanwhile, unlike the commercial magazines, they helped to create a new audience. They printed more new authors, and sometimes better authors, than many periodicals that lived for a financially profitable half-century.

Poetry, founded in 1912, was one example. Sooner or later it printed the new poets of all the schools and, though it never had many more than 3,000 readers, this was a much larger audience than the poets could then have reached without its help. *Others*, the little magazine edited by Alfred Kreymborg, had 300 subscribers and a life span of four years; but it printed Williams, Moore, Aiken, Stevens and T. S. Eliot when their work was being rejected even by *Poetry*. The *Little Review* had a longer career. Founded in Chicago in 1914, it moved first to New York and then to Paris, while moving intellectually from anarchism and feminism through a whole series of enthusiasms to cubism, surrealism and blank discouragement, so that its files are an esthetic history of two decades.

In 1914 the *New Republic* was among the first of the new magazines intended to reach a wider public. With a brilliant editorial board headed by Herbert Croly, it tried to set a standard of intelligent discussion and good writing. The older *Nation*, founded in 1865, was transformed into a vigorous political organ after Oswald Garrison Villard became the editor in 1918; but it remained a literary organ, too, and its new critics supported what was then the new generation of writers. The immediate postwar years were the heyday of the "liberal weeklies," not all of which were either weekly or liberal; besides the *New Republic* and the *Nation*, there were also, for a time, the *Freeman*, which believed in good prose and the single tax; the radical fortnightly *Dial*, which preceded the literary monthly; the Communist *Liberator*, which had taken the place of the *Masses*; and the conservative *Weekly Review*.

As older periodicals lost their readers, new ones were now appearing year by year. In 1922 it was the *Reader's Digest*, which carried no advertising and at first could hardly have obtained any, so modest was its beginning. The next year it was *Time*, first of the news weeklies; in 1924 it was the *American Mercury*, edited by H. L. Mencken and George Jean Nathan; in 1925 the *New Yorker*, which tried not to be serious, but didn't always succeed. Later there would be many other new magazines, including a few that established themselves as types: *Esquire*, appearing toward the end of the decade with its luscious ladies reproduced in several colors, mostly flesh pink; *Fortune*, in 1930, with its careful studies of American business and its beautifully drawn graphs which, for the first three years, showed only business declines; and the new *Life*, in 1936, first and most successful of the big picture papers. Together all these magazines changed the character of American periodical journalism.

If you looked at the newsstands in 1946, you would find them piled high and festooned with an unparalleled diversity of reading matter; apparently there was something for every taste and every level of intelligence. There were first of all the pocket magazines and digests, a whole platoon of magazines led by the *Reader's Digest*, which in 1945 was said to be printing 11 million copies a month (including 1.6 million copies, a verified figure, in foreign languages). There were the big picture monthlies or fortnightlies, *Look*, *Pic*, *Click*, etc.; and there was the still bigger weekly *Life*, one of the few magazines that gained in circulation during the year after the war—from 3.9 to 5.2 million copies.

There were the three news weeklies, headed by *Time* with its 1.2 million copies in 1945. There were the general weeklies, including the *Saturday Evening Post* (3.4 million) and *Collier's* (2.8 million). There were the three surviving general monthlies, the *Cosmopolitan* (2.1 million), the *American* and the *Redbook*.

There were the four big women's monthlies, with their circulations ranging upward from the 2.5 million of *Good Housekeeping* to the 4.1 million of the *Ladies Home Journal*. There were the fashion magazines, smaller in circulation but rich in advertising, superbly illustrated and printing sophisticated fiction to fill the space between pictures. There were the home magazines, two of which had monthly circulations of more than 2.3 million.

Then, descending to another level, there were the movie and radio magazines, designed for romantic housewives; the confessional magazines (*True*, *True Confessions*, *True Detective*, *True Experiences*, *True Love and Romances*, *True Romances*, *True Story*), designed for people who wanted to believe that life was real but also had a happy ending; the pulp-paper all-fiction magazines in their several categories (Western, romance, sport, detective, jungle, interplanetary and supernatural); and lowest of all, the comics, designed for those who had to spell out words but had an easier time with pictures, and confirming their assault on the national intelligence by reaching at one time a combined circulation of 30 or 40 million copies a month.

Then, rising again (but falling steeply in circulation), there were the *New Yorker*, with 228,000 readers (the most carefully edited of American magazines, but also the one most likely to take chances), the *Atlantic* with 122,000, *Harper's* with 114,000, and the liberal weeklies, of which the two largest had about 40,000 apiece. That, with newspapers and pocket books and a few special periodicals like *Esquire* and *Hobo News*, was the entire newsstand picture. Apparently it included something for everybody, from the college professor down to the juvenile delinquent.

Yet there were curious gaps in this stupendous display. There was, for example, no literary magazine of general circulation (*Partisan Review*, with six or seven thousand readers, was the largest of the magazines surviving in this field, but made little attempt at newsstand distribution). There was nothing to be found on the stands as good by literary standards as the *Dial* in the 1920's, or as good as the *Century* and *Scribner's* and *Harper's* in the 1890's, when they serialized the novels of Henry James: what magazine would do as much today? There was no periodical of general circulation that showed an intelligent interest in American history, or any history; journalism had become strictly contemporaneous—here today, forgotten next month. There was no magazine except the *Saturday Review* that was devoted principally to books. There was no magazine that reported cultural developments as well

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as *Current Literature* had once reported them. There was, in all these piles and festoons of weeklies and monthlies, hardly any interest in the general ideas by which we live and grow.

Magazine publishing had made a vast advance in the direction of better reporting, better printing of the big-circulation group, better photographic illustrations. Everything technical had moved ahead. Reporters knew what facts to look for and how to put them together. Editors knew how to treat their stories, what adjectives to omit, what facts to emphasize, how to start an article with a crash and end it with a full stop. Their readers were kept abreast of the latest (but only the latest) advances in science and industry; and they received a full if distorted account of the latest political disasters.

Yet this progress in technical and bureaucratic procedures had been made at the expense of individual initiative. It was seldom now that independent reporters were sent to a city (as Lincoln Steffens was sent to St. Louis in the old days) merely to see what they could find and tell the truth about it in their own fashion. In general they had to reflect the policy of the magazine, that is, the institution by which they were employed; they had to write for the editors, the public and also for the board of directors. Except for the pulps and the comics, there had been a great leveling up of American magazines, with few as bad as the worst of the old crop, but there had also been a leveling down. And the crisis in the magazine world involved not only the question how best to compete with the movies, the radio and the automobile for the spare time of the American public, the question of technical procedures by which to hold readers; it also involved the question whether magazines could once again play the role they had formerly assumed in forming and changing the American mind.

MALCOLM COWLEY

Bernanos and Mauriac

Joy, by Georges Bernanos. Translated by Louise Varèse. New York: Pantheon Books. 297 pages. $2.75.
Woman of the Pharisees, by François Mauriac. Translated by Gerard Hopkins. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 241 pages. $2.50.

THE APPEARANCE of two French novels in English calls attention, not to the current vogue of existentialism, but to the religious aspect of contemporary literature. Bernanos and Mauriac are recognized in France as leading "Catholic" writers, but their work has not yet reached a very wide public in America. They are men of the same generation: Mauriac was born in 1885, and Bernanos in 1888. Their first important novels were published in the twenties: Mauriac's *Baiser au Lépreux* in 1922, and Bernanos' *Sous le soleil de Satan* in 1926. *Joy*, by Bernanos, which has just been published by Pantheon, first appeared in France in 1929 under the title *La Joie*. Mauriac's novel, *Woman of the Pharisees (La Pharisienne)*, is more recent, the French text having appeared in 1941.

Bernanos broke with the French Royalist Party when the *Action Française* approved of the invasion of Ethiopia. Later, he denounced the members of the Spanish hierarchy and clergy who were identifying themselves with the nationalist movement. Today, he is one of the European intellectuals meeting in Geneva for "a peace conference of the mind." The eloquence of Bernanos is harsh and strident. He belongs to the lineage of Léon Bloy and continues the work of Péguy in trying to save the honor of Christianity. He spent the war years in Brazil, but his influence has not diminished in France. One of the younger poets, Loys Masson, in a letter to Bernanos printed in the Paris *Lettres Françaises* of August 4, 1945, wrote: "I owe to you a sense of honor in being a Christian today."

Mauriac may well be the most important contemporary novelist in France after Proust. (Despite all that has been said about the invasion of our period by the novel, most of the leading French writers are not novelists: Valéry, Bergson, Claudel, Gide.) Moreover, the position of Mauriac as essayist and critic appears as firmly established today as that of novelist. The novel is the most perishable of literary genres, since it reflects the most accidental and changing aspects of society Mauriac knows this and believes that the part of his work most likely to endure is his nonfiction, such as the religious study, *Souffrances et Bonheur du Chrétien*. During the war, Mauriac's position was admirable. He continued to write his brief articles for *Le Figaro*, which are periodically published in volume form as his *Journal*. These articles have become, to an increasing degree, such direct and moving messages to the French that today I believe Mauriac can be called a spiritual leader in France.

As novelists, although both are inspired by the gravest of religious problems, Bernanos and Mauriac show divergence in theme and style. Bernanos is psychologist of the saint, and Mauriac is psychologist of the sinner. Bernanos' style is discursive and even bombastic. He "speaks" his book, as a prophet might, violently and awkwardly. Mauriac, on the other hand, is a craftsman in story-telling, although he is not essentially interested in that aspect of his books. He is sparing of image and picturesque detail, elliptic and condensed in characterization, but his sentence is so admirably deft and revelatory that both idea and action in his writings are dramatic.

Joy is not the best novel by Bernanos. Its architecture is, even more than in *Sous le Soleil de Satan*, the expression of a temperament. We read what pours out from his heart. His particular vision of the world impels him to write, and he is guided by enthusiasms and indignations. He is not so much the strategist, like Mauriac, but the lyricist whose art is strongly reminiscent of Bloy and even of Claudel. The book is a study of a young girl, Chantal, who finds herself surrounded by a strange world of beings: by Fiodor, a Russian chauffeur who stalks her and watches her; by her father, a millionaire professor who lives in ostentatious surroundings; by a mad grandmother, a psychiatrist and a priest who has lost his faith. In their midst, Chantal, invulnerable in her truthfulness, harbors within herself the secret of sanctity. Her simplicity is her only ruse, and all the members of the household: servants, relations, doctors, try in vain to discover whether Chantal's secret is madness or holiness. The most striking parts of Bernanos' novel are the long dialogues between Chantal and her father, Chantal and the psychiatrist, Chantal and the priest. There are elements of drama in these dialogues, but Chantal lives in so separate and unique a world, that

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the art of the dialogues consists chiefly in two differing and implacably opposed statements on holiness and worldliness.

Bernanos' *Joy* represents a kind of challenge to Mauriac's belief that the novel on holiness will never be written. He has stated on many occasions that the subject matter of the novelist is human nature in a state of sin. When the will is entirely bent to God, the devil loses his rights over a human soul, and the novelist also. *Woman of the Pharisees* is longer than most of the earlier novels of Mauriac, and somewhat more loosely constructed. But it has the same subject matter of all his books and the same setting. He has made his province of Les Landes—that is, Bordeaux and the surrounding country—into an almost mythical place, describing and transposing it as Chateaubriand did with Combourg and Lamartine with Milly. The monotonous pine trees, the low vineyards, the night trains whose passage shakes the windowpanes of the country houses, are the familiar elements of the Mauriac setting. And the characters of this newly translated book are familiar also: the adolescent boys and girls, so fervently bent upon a search for certainty and for the absolute, and the adults, more deeply compromised with imperfection and sin. The central character, Brigitte Pian, is a penetrating study of pharisaism, one more in Mauriac's repertory of sinister characters. The analysis of Brigitte Pian is subtle and complex because, by definition, the pharisee not only deceives others, but himself as well. She is the source of multiple disasters around her, while continuing to believe herself a saint. Mauriac's greatness lies in his remarkable fusion of place and character. He establishes a real complicity between the hot summers, the storm clouds, the hail and pines of Les Landes and the sternness of Brigitte Pian's Jansenist temperament which destroys a very touching and delicate form of happiness between two characters.

Gide at one time chided Mauriac for the preponderant place he gives to evil in his novels, for the compromise, as he defined it, which permits Mauriac "to love God without losing sight of Mammon." And Gide continued with the words: "If I were more of a Christian, I could not follow you quite so easily." The major attack on Mauriac's conception of the novel (whereby Mauriac believes the novelist comparable to God, having full knowledge of his creatures, although never denying them freedom of will) came from Jean-Paul Sartre, in an article written before Sartre enjoyed the fame he does today (*La Nouvelle Revue Française*, February, 1939). The existentialist argues that the Christian writer, because of his belief in man's freedom, is admirably suited to write novels. Dostoevsky would be a leading example. But Mauriac sees the whole of his universe at all times. His dialogue, like that of a play, is always efficacious and moves rapidly ahead, whereas the characters of Dostoevsky, Faulkner and Hemingway do not know what they are to say next. They are freer than the creatures of Mauriac. And Sartre concluded that God is not an artist and neither is Mauriac! But the criticism of Sartre greatly limits the art of the novel. Mauriac is a descendant, not from other novelists, but from Pascal, Racine and Baudelaire, whose sense of tragedy demanded a certain aloofness of attitude and an abstraction or purgation in style.

The two translations are excellent, both in accuracy and in fidelity to the tone and texture of the original texts. Louise Varèse, translator of Bernanos, is well known for her translations of Rimbaud and St.-John Perse. Gerard Hopkins, translator of Mauriac, has already translated Jules Romains. I understand that plans are under way to publish in England and America translations of the complete works of Mauriac. WALLACE FOWLIE

Argument Full of Holes

By Vote of the People, by Willis J. Ballinger. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 381 pages. $3.

WILLIS J. BALLINGER, as former economic adviser of the Federal Trade Commission, is chiefly concerned with the dangers arising from private monopoly. Most American citizens, including the professional economists, would agree with him that monopoly control constitutes a serious problem and that something should be done about it. At this point, however, anything like unanimity stops.

The main thesis of this book is much more ambitious than a mere exposure of the economic evils of unreasonable restraints of trade. According to the author, democratic governments throughout history have disappeared as a direct consequence of the concentration of wealth which monopoly brings and the efforts of government to relieve the distress of the unemployed by federal spending. Some have fallen by foreign conquest resulting from their weakness, but more have given way to dictatorship through internal changes sanctioned by the populace. Into this rigid pattern he tries to fit the history of democracy in ancient Greece, Rome, Venice, Florence, modern Germany and Italy. The United States, he argues, began to face the same danger in the days of the New Deal, and the crisis is now being sharpened. The conclusion would seem to be that if any or all of these political units had had a Federal Trade Commission and vigorous enforcement of anti-trust laws, democracy would have been secure.

In order to support this argument, Ballinger has to uphold a number of dubious theses. One is that all the civilizations in question were sufficiently democratic and sufficiently capitalist in the modern sense so that their experience is relevant. Another is that in each case the decline of democracy arose from monopolistic practices. The third is that unemployment crises would not have occurred without monopoly. He agrees with Hayek and with John Chamberlain, who writes the introduction, that without competitive capitalism democracy is impossible. Finally he assumes that police action by government can break up monopoly and that nothing more is necessary to distribute wealth equitably and avoid serious unemployment.

To state this argument is enough to raise doubts about its validity. We may pass over ancient history with the comment that the fall of Rome has been attributed to practically everything an author wished to attack. But surely there were important elements in the rise of fascism and Nazism other than monopoly capitalism and government spending to relieve unemployment. Surely there were serious unemployment crises in nineteenth-century Britain and the United States, at a time when competitive capitalism approached most closely the ideal of laissez-faire. And surely Great Britain and Sweden, with their compensatory fiscal policies and their economic planning, are just as firmly democratic as any nation in history. GEORGE SOULE

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North But South

North and South, by Elizabeth Bishop. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 62 pages. $2.

ELIZABETH BISHOP is the deserving winner of the Houghton Mifflin Poetry Award for which almost 800 poets contended. Her unquestionable talent produces such fresh unostentation as this from "The Imaginary Iceberg":

> The wits of these white peaks
> spar with the sun. Its weight the iceberg dares
> upon a shifting stage and stands and stares.
>
> This iceberg cuts its facets from within.
> Like jewelry from a grave
> it saves itself perpetually and adorns
> only itself, perhaps the snows
> which so surprise us lying on the sea.

She has, however, possibly overeducated herself in what is, or rather was, going on in the best circles, and hasn't trusted enough in her own psyche. She has listened every once in a while to certain cliques which are trying to palm off academic composition as poetic perception.

Miss Bishop has real perception but it is struggling with her angel in a too fashionable apartment. It is to her credit that the angel got by the Big-Bosomed Gold-Buttoned Footman of Academe. She has a keen eye for small physical detail: of roosters she writes, "plus all the vulgar beauty of iridescence"; of turtles, "their large white skulls with round eye-sockets /twice the size of a man's"/; of a caught fish, "a five-haired beard of wisdom/trailing from his aching jaw." Such poems as "The Imaginary Iceberg" and "Roosters" are not only full of this exquisite detail, but are emotional wholes, and therefore successful.

But Miss Bishop does not break away from the purlieus of the fashionable. She apologizes subtly to the academic powers when she writes (this is her complete statement): "Most of these poems were written, or partly written, before 1942." Since the world's greatest literature was written before 1942, she should know she is on the right side of the fence. This present book whose publication has been rumored for a decade is, one senses, out a bit too soon in spite of such magnificent hesitation. For there are poems that are Audenary and Wallace Stevensish, and socially conscious poems that have not shaken off the ferment and not-so-fine frenzies belonging to others. I feel that such poems of class consciousness as the one on Cootchie, Miss Lula's servant, and "Songs for a Colored Singer" are a bit too easily on the expected side, charming little stained-glass bits here and there not saving the poems from a charge that the poet is defending the oppressed because it's the thing to do.

All in all, however, this is a good book. Its failures seem more prominent because the author is making such a to-do about having a book at all. The free verse is delicate and not too free, the preciosity is not unpleasant, the sestina is modern, competent and digestible, the influences from a half-dozen sources are handled with gloves, any thumbprints have been wiped from the shining legs of the poetic furniture at least twice in every other poem.

I have always considered it rather mean for reviewers to pick lines from a poet's work in order to criticize that work, but Miss Bishop has written such a real poem in her "A Miracle for Breakfast," ending

> We licked up the crumb and swallowed the coffee.
> A window across the river caught the sun
> as if the miracle were working, on the wrong balcony

that I cannot resist saying of her work, in not uncomplimentary summation, that it is as if the miracle were working, on the wrong balcony.

OSCAR WILLIAMS

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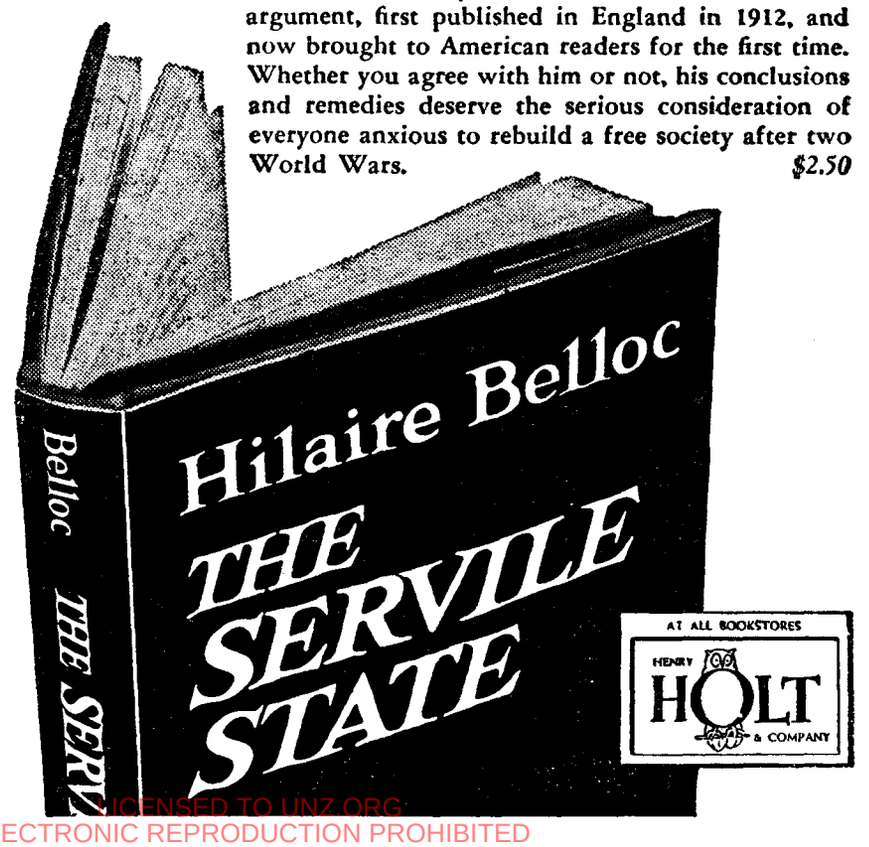

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A Reader's List

Planning No. 254. Mothers in Jobs (Political and Economic Planning. Available through the New Republic, *25 cents).* A country with its face turned toward the high road of full employment, yet troubled by a declining population, Britain can make good use of every manpower source. It is in this sense, says PEP, that working mothers can become part of a national personnel program. But the community and employers would have to make special plans to combine motherhood and work; otherwise, mother and child would be subject to unnecessary and dangerous strain. This creates two conflicting aims, which can be reconciled only by careful, long-range social planning. Production can be increased by encouraging women to take jobs, or mothers might be told to stay home and care for the next generation. Yet a truly democratic society should make it possible for a woman to choose for herself whether she wants to work or to be a mother or to do both. This, however, would require medical supervision in factories, measures to avoid overstrain, maternity services, provision for domestic help, nurseries and non-discrimination against married women.

Bright Day, by J. B. Priestley (Harpers, $2.50). When the war broke out, Gregory Dawson, a British film writer, left the goldfields of Hollywood to return to the home front for the duration. Now, the war over, he is disillusioned with the brave new world that isn't shaping up. While staying at a seaside hotel in Cornwall he encounters the Nixeys, a couple he had known in his youth in Bruddersford, and the greater part of the book is given to a nostalgic recreation of the two years he spent in the West Riding before the first war. Here Priestley is at his best: he has caught to a *t* the life of the little town and has peopled it with living men and women tenderly and humorously observed. Too bad we have to leave the delights of Bruddersford for an unlikely ending which sees Dawson's faith in the world restored by the socially conscious members of a new film group.

New Republic News

Just back from an official mission to the Mediterranean and Near East, Jennings Perry, former editor of the Nashville *Tennessean* and new *PM* columnist, gave us a backside view of Winston Churchill's misty catch-phrase, the "iron curtain," at lunch the other day.

"You are an American, and you get off a plane or a ship to enter almost any country you can name in the world today. You're carrying a suitcase or a typewriter. You see the look on the face of the customs official who examines your passport, and you hear him whisper to his assistant. The first time it puzzles you, but at the second or third border you learn to expect it. Sometimes the official asks you outright."

Then Jennings, worried about the confusions, suspicions and misunderstandings among the common men peopling the common planet, paused in the smoky setting of bread crumbs, pushed-back plates and half-empty glasses of water. "Gentlemen," he said, "they're looking among your shirts and your dirty laundry—all of them, everywhere—for an atomic bomb."

• • •

Ralph Martin's new book, *Boy from Nebraska: The Story of Ben Kuroki*, was published by Harper and Brothers on October 10. . . . The first time we met Henry Wallace, new editor-to-be of the *NR*, he was wearing a hat, and we almost failed to recognize him. Hundreds of people on New York sidewalks also passed by the man in the brown hat without a glance.

• • •

Wallace Fowlie teaches Humanities and French Literature at the University of Chicago. His book on Rimbaud has just been published by New Directions.

Oscar Williams' poetry has been printed in many magazines. His most recent books are *The War Poets*, an anthology published by John Day, and a book of verse, *That's All That Matters*, published by Creative Age Press.

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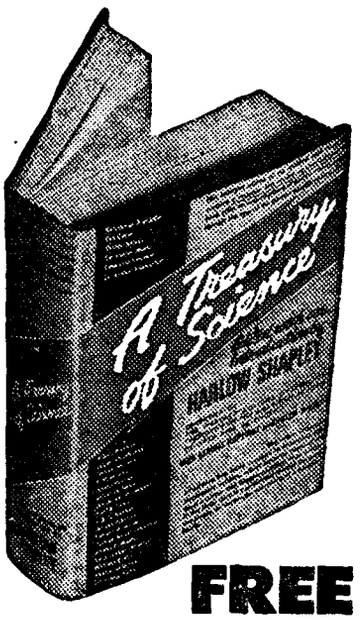

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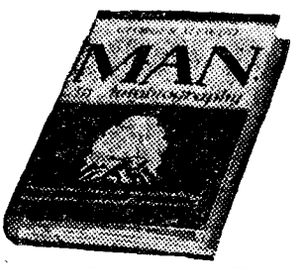

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